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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet Diplomat: USSR Unable To Halt Jewish Immigration

900A0343A Cairo *AL-HAQIQAH*
in Arabic 10 Feb 90 p 1

[Article by Mahmud 'Atiyah: "We Will Not Be Able To Stop Jewish Immigration to Israel; 1,000 Arab Jewish Immigrants to Israel Annually"]

[Text] In response to the all-out Arab protest to the Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel, a Soviet diplomat in Cairo has revealed that two Arab countries continue to permit Jews to immigrate to Israel at the rate of 1,000 immigrants annually. He said that Jews also immigrate from Egypt to Israel, but via Europe, and that two-thirds of the current Jews in Israel (600,000 Jews) [as published] immigrated from the Arab countries to Israel directly.

The diplomat stressed that his country will not be able to halt Jewish immigration to Israel now that the latest political developments in the Soviet Union have led to granting every citizen the right to immigrate to any part of the world. However, Jews wishing to immigrate to Israel do not get an immigration visa to Israel directly but to European countries.

The diplomat said that the Soviet Union recently rejected the operation of a direct air route between Moscow and Tel Aviv, even though the Soviet authorities are still studying this request.

The diplomat asserted that the Soviet Union puts its special interests above the interests of the Arabs, Israel, or the United States. He also said that Egypt concluded a peace treaty with Israel in 1979 to serve its special interests, without consideration for the Arab positions and interests. The diplomat wondered: How can the Arabs ask us to stop dealing with Israel while some of them have diplomatic relations with Israel?!

Article Reports ACC Parliamentary Meeting Success

900A0343C Cairo *UKTUBAR* in Arabic 11 Feb 90 p 30

[Article by Muhammad al-Tawil: "Egypt's Fourth Arab Parliamentary Experiment"]

[Text] Last week, Egypt had another parliamentary experiment at the Arab level. Egypt has had previous experiments at this level.

The first experiment was that of the United National Assembly with Syria from 1958-61, the second was with Syria and Libya in the Federal National Assembly from 1971-73, and the third was the Joint Sudanese-Egyptian People's Assembly from the late 1970's to the early 1980's.

The fourth experiment started last week through the ACC [Arab Cooperation Council], which is still a quadrilateral council. Fate has destined Egypt to have its fourth experiment with the states represented in the ACC Parliamentary Committee.

It seems that the significance of the previous experiments was on the mind of Dr. Rifat al-Mahjub, speaker of the Egyptian People's Assembly and head of the Egyptian delegation to this committee. Dr. al-Mahjub delivered an address in which he made allusions and explicit references to the current Arab reality and to what he aspires for in the future, especially in the midst of the major fundamental developments currently taking place in the world, particularly in Europe. He said, "Comprehensive Arab unity, which is the nation's aspiration, requires lengthy preparation by virtue of the previous experiments, the present condition of the Arab relations, and the international developments."

With the division and the estrangement, we have had no option but to begin with regional cooperation in scattered parts of the Arab homeland—in the Gulf, in the Arab East, and in the Arab Maghreb. This cooperation has come in response to an existing reality and to an aspiring hope and in preparation for the future.

Dr. al-Mahjub stressed, "The course of gradual unity may not be dismissed rationally or practically because the dismissal of this course in previous cases led to foiling the objective of and striking the principle of unity.

"This is why we have to develop joint interests among ourselves, set up joint projects, build transportation and communication networks, coordinate our positions, and unify our laws and our educational systems."

When Dr. Rifat al-Mahjub finished delivering his address, the conference hall in Baghdad resounded with sharp applause. All the participating Arab delegations requested the address in print, and the secretariat was compelled to make tens of copies to distribute to the delegation members.

At the outset of his address, Dr. al-Mahjub asked a question to the effect: Where do we stand vis-a-vis what is occurring around us? Where do we stand vis-a-vis the logic of the age?

He followed these with other predominantly disapproving questions, asking: Is our nation destined to take one step forward and two steps backward?

Is our nation destined to emerge from one conflict, to embark on another, and to be the victim of constant disagreement?

He answered, saying, "There is nothing wrong with our disagreeing with each other, provided that the disagreement falls within the context of our general agreement and that it serves our nation's interest."

Commenting, President Saddam Husayn delivered an address in which he agreed with Dr. Rifat al-Mahjub

and stressed graduality. He said, "As Arabs, we have all undergone conditions which perhaps still apply to Arab countries in this or that part of the Arab homeland. These conditions dictated that the responsibilities and the powers be determined according to special gradual progression. Experiences and what we learn from the history of nations and peoples have taught us that gradual responsibility is a condition that will persist and will not end."

President Husayn added, "As brother al-Mahjub has kindly noted, we must constantly deal with the possible without turning this possible into the final objective of the capabilities that can be created in order to achieve the aspiration."

But what does Egypt's fourth experiment mean? What are the objectives of the ACC Parliamentary Committee? The committee chairman and the Iraqi National Assembly speaker answered these questions in his address to the participants, noting, "Our parliamentary committee's tasks will not be confined to coordinating positions, approximating viewpoints, making proposals, and proposing agreements connected with the ACC work. Our action arena will include the entire map of international parliamentary activity."

The committee discussed the constitution in accordance with which it operates. A heated discussion developed on one of the articles which concern the specialized teams. The constitution provides for four teams, namely: the legal affairs team, the economic and financial affairs team, the Arab and international affairs team, and the cultural, information, and educational affairs team.

To be fair, most members of the Arab states' delegations displayed effusive and enthusiastic feelings for the exercise of democracy and urged the committee to expand its jurisdiction so that it may be able to provide the best political and economic advantages to the ACC Ministerial Committee and to carry on with developing the ACC so that it may achieve its popular Arab objectives. The most enthusiastic delegation was, by the consensus of the participating delegations, the parliamentary delegation from North Yemen. The conference concluded its meetings with the proviso that it will resume its activities in the first session in Jordan next September.

Columnist Chastises Palestinian Attitude Toward Egypt

90OA0343B Cairo *AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI*
in Arabic 22 Feb 90 p 14

[Anis Mansur Editorial]

[Text] Mr. President Husni Mubarak, it was my intention to say: You can sleep soundly and blissfully, as our poet Hafiz Ibrahim said!

The Palestinian leader himself says that you are obstructing the peace process and that he alone can establish peace. So you can employ your time, your

health, and your money to serve the 55 million Egyptians and their poor African friends.

When during World War II Churchill was told that the Japanese air force had sunk the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbour, Churchill, who was in one of London's shelters, said: I can sleep soundly now because the United States will enter the war!

And the United States did enter the war and did end it with atomic bombs.

I wish, Mr. President, I could tell you something similar, except that the Palestinian leader has not told us how he will establish peace. When we invited them and told them to come and sit under the Palestinian flag at Mina House, they responded: Traitorous dogs.

When we told them to form their government in exile, they responded: Despicable opportunism!

His excellency [the Palestinian leader] said that a single bullet could put an end to al-Sadat, and he has reiterated that the same bullet is still in his pocket. The Palestinian bullets are aimed at Egypt solely and not at any other Arab country.

Now, they have a government in exile!

When we asked them to renounce terrorism and to acknowledge the UN resolutions, they responded: Cowardly Pharonites!

Now they have proclaimed their renunciation and contempt for terrorism and have declared their recognition of the UN resolutions. Abu 'Ammar has told the world Jewry: Shana Tova—two Hebrew words which mean: Happy new year, Jews of the entire world...

They are two words which neither al-Sadat nor you have uttered despite the normalization of relations and the peace that has lasted for 17 years.

It seems that you will not sleep, Mr. President. Somebody will come to awaken you from your sleep, kiss your head, and apologize to you for what they have said without permit and what they will say later.

Law books tell that a man killed his father and mother and requested a not-guilty verdict because he had become orphaned!

EGYPT

Oppositionists Take Soft Line Against Bus Incident

Terrorism Condemned Outside Territories

90OA0342A Cairo *AL-MUSAWWAR*
in Arabic 16 Feb 90 p 23

[Article by Sabri Abu-al-Majd: "From Bad to Worse: From Tourist Bus Crime to Israel's Crimes in Occupied Arab Territories and Soviet Immigration"]

[Excerpts] The tourist bus crime perpetrated last week on the Cairo-Isma'iliyah highway is a dirty crime that we condemn and despise, not because it is aimed at the peace process, considering that the peace process is engulfed in numerous problems and, consequently, it does not need a crime to waste, but because the crime is aimed against Egypt. This crime is bad but what is worse are the crimes that Israel perpetrates daily in the occupied territories and the Soviet Jewish immigration to Palestine.

Since the acts of terrorism started—whether in the form of hijacking planes, assassinating some Israeli figures outside the occupied Arab territories, or kidnaping foreign or Arab hostages—I have been saying: These acts are condemned and suspect and they do not so much serve the Palestinian cause as they serve the Zionist enemy, his interests, and his objectives. I have even said in connection with some of these terroristic acts: Those who have planned and financed these acts are not Arabs, even though those who have implemented them are misled, or misleading, Arabs. The strongest proof supporting our viewpoint is that the tourist bus incident that claimed just 12 Israeli lives has, by virtue of the Zionist influence over the world media, received greater attention and care than the massacres that Shamir's gangs perpetrate in the occupied Arab territories daily. The bus incident has even received greater attention and care than the Soviet army's massacres in the Muslim Azerbaidzhan or in Afghanistan where nearly ½ million Muslims Afghans have fallen victim since the start of the civil war, which is supported by the Soviets. How often have I said—and have consequently received threats of physical liquidation—that acts executed outside the occupied territories indicate nothing but obvious cowardice and a poor assessment of the consequences of such acts. This has been the case with many such acts, as recently made obvious by documents. If those perpetrating such acts had the daring and courage, and even the manliness, they would have perpetrated their acts in the occupied Arab territories, considering that these territories are an open battlefield where it is permitted to confront the enemy with all the means, including assassination. Those who carry out assassinations outside the occupied territories are no heroes. If they were, they would carry out such acts against the terroristic Israeli army. [passage omitted]

The "bitterness" that we, both Arabs and Muslims, swallow comes from the Soviet friends who have sold us cheaply to the Americans and who have not been content with this sale but who have proceeded to stab us in the back! How could the Soviets permit Soviet citizens to stab people who have shown the Soviets nothing but what is charitable? But believe me—believe me just once—it is not the Israelis, not the Americans, and not the Soviets who are responsible for what has befallen us. We are the ones who are responsible first and last. We, as Arabs and Muslims, are responsible because we have belittled ourselves in our own eyes and we have debased ourselves before others. After debasement, there is nothing but humiliation and defeat.

Incident Called 'Jihad,' 'Reaction'

900A0342B Cairo AL-HAQIQAH
in Arabic 10 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by Mu'tazz Salah-al-Din, Ahmad Abu-Zayd, Najwa Tantawi, and Layla 'Abd-al-Majid: "Reactions to Attack on Israeli Tourists; Incident Is Reaction to Israeli Terrorist Practices; Attempt To Strike Peace Process and Sow Sedition Between Egypt, Libya, and Syria; Mustafa Kamil Murad: Offense to Arab Image and Cause; Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman: Jihad for God"]

[Text] Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, professor of [Koran] interpretation at al-Azhar University, has said that the incident is not a terrorist act, as some people think, but an act of jihad for God. We are greatly pleased with the incident and we hope that it will be followed by others. It is an act of jihad because Israel has occupied its place without realistic or historical support and has evicted, displaced, and killed many Palestinians. The Jews are shedders of blood and killers of prophets. We must fight them everywhere and must kill them because killing them is a religious duty. God, may He be exalted, has said:

"Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold forbidden that which hath been forbidden by God and His apostle, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth (even if they are) of the People of the Book until they pay the *jizya* [poll tax] with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued."

In another verse, God says: "Fight them and God will punish them by your hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of Believers, and still the indignation of their hearts." God has healed our breasts and has stilled some of our indignation with this incident. We are amazed how condolences are offered to Israel by the United States and Egypt but not offered to the Palestinian strugglers who are falling by the hundreds!

The Jews cannot be trusted, they do not keep a covenant, and they are not people of the book. They are fighting warriors and we must fight them with life and property and must sacrifice all we can to restore Palestine, the land of Islam, and to regain al-Aqsa Mosque. Else, we are sinners who commit a mortal sin and deserters who abandon that which pleases God with us, namely jihad for God.

Dr. Muhammad Hilmi Murad, the Labor Party secretary general, personally believes that tens of similar incidents occur in the occupied territories and that the incident is the consequence of brutal acts of repression and suppression against the Palestinian people. Dr. Murad adds that the incident should be approached as an ordinary incident because one-upmanship on the Egyptian Government's part to pacify the situation and to appease Israel will only make Israel more vindictive and arrogant.

Dr. Hilmi Murad urges the Egyptian Government to preserve Egypt's dignity and to prevent intervention in its internal affairs. If the Israelis do not feel safe in Egypt, then let them end their tourist visits to us.

Dr. Mahmud al-Saqqa, a law professor at Cairo University, has said: While the Egyptian Government denounces the incident, we find that thousands of acts are committed against the Arabs and Muslims in Palestine. Dr. al-Saqqa wonders about the statement that the perpetrators seek to obstruct the peace process and adds that the incident has assumed greater dimensions than it merits.

Dr. Ahmad Khayri Hafiz, a psychology professor at 'Ayn Shams University's School of Arts, believes that regardless of whether the perpetrators are Arabs or Egyptians, the incident confirms that Egypt is not far from the Arab position and that Israeli tourists are accepted at the official level but not the popular level. He adds that it is time that we treat people as they treat others so that Israel may reconsider its positions toward the Arabs.

Dr. Sayyid Sharif, an assistant instructor at al-Azhar Education College, asserts that the incident is a reaction to what Israel perpetrates. He wonders: Should the Israelis kill our brothers in religion while we let them frolic in and enjoy our country?

Criminal Act

Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, rejects the murder of Israeli tourists on Egyptian soil because such incidents create a troubled climate that obstructs "Israel's" negotiations with the PLO and gives Israel justifications for its intransigence. The place for such acts is supposed to be the occupied territories. Murad adds: Murders perpetrated in this manner have not produced results in the past and will not produce results at present or in the future. On the contrary, such murders will harm the Arabs' image and cause before the public opinion.

Dr. Hasan Nafi'ah, a professor of politics at the Economics and Political Science College, says that the incident could have been carried out in Egypt or in Israel.

Dr. Hasan Nafi'ah finds it likely that some Israeli radicals carried out the operation to sabotage the Middle East peace process.

Dr. Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Sa'id says that the incident may have direct significance to tourism in Egypt and to the world's respect for Egypt's ability to protect tourists. The objective might be that of provoking problems in Egypt's relations with the Arab countries, considering that Syria and Libya might be suspected of having a role in the incident.

Ambassador Dr. Taha al-Farnawani, a former head of the Palestine Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, says: We are opposed to any terrorist act by any

party. I condemn attacks on civilians, whether here or in the occupied territories. Therefore, we urge Israel to respect human rights.

Dr. Jamal Muhammad 'Imran, Pharmacists Union assistant secretary general, condemns all forms of terrorist acts.

Aminah Shafiq, the Journalists Union secretary general, believes that the fact that the Palestinians have not gained their rights is behind the incident.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Mun'im Abu-al-Futuh, the Physicians Union secretary general, says that the incident is a reaction to what is happening to the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Dr. al-Sayyid Rizq al-Tawil, dean of the Islamic Studies Institute, believes that the recent incident is not approved by religion.

A law professor who has declined to divulge his name says that international law requires two commitments from every state in connection with the citizens of another state:

- Exert, i.e. provide, care and (accept the result on whose basis the state responsibility is determined).
- If the state adheres to the first commitment and these citizens are still harmed despite its efforts, then the state is not responsible.

Dr. Jamal 'Atwah, a *shari'ah* [Islamic law] and law professor at al-Azhar, says that Israeli tourists are tantamount to protected trusts, considering that there is a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, and they must not be attacked.

Dr. Mufid Shihab, chairman of the Consultative Assembly's Arab and Foreign Affairs Committee, says: The culprits will be given an ordinary trial. This incident does not fall under the category of armed struggle because it did not take place in the occupied territories.

Yasin Siraj-al-Din, chairman of al-Wafd Party Parliamentary Committee, underlines his condemnation of the incident as an attack on civilians.

Shaykh Mahmud Fayid says that the Jews do not deal with us in accordance with any law.

Ideal Company Raises Incentives After Protest

45000093 Cairo AL-HAQIQAH in Arabic 17 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Muhammad Husni]

[Text] Engineer 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Hibbak, president of the delta's Ideal Manufacturing Company, has decided to pay 105-percent monthly incentives at the al-Mazah factory without deducting the advance from January's incentive payment.

The factory's workers had taken over the factory to protest the company's management application of the

board of directors' decision to lower their incentives by 81 percent, in addition to deducting 16 percent of them as an advance. This was at a time when they were being paid 125 percent incentives.

Engineer Discusses M1A1 Tank Capabilities, Production

*900A0306A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR
in Arabic 2 Feb 90 pp 14-16, 74*

[Interview with Major General Engineer Muhammad Salam by Hamdi Lutfi: "Secrets of Manufacture of First Egyptian Tank; Engineers Have Manufactured a Computer With Ballistic Capability; New Tank Equipped With Antichemical Warfare Device"; first two paragraphs are AL-MUSAWWAR introduction; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] These are the exact secrets of what occurred before Egypt embarked on the manufacture of a state-of-the-art tank, the tank of the next century. AL-MUSAWWAR unveils for the first time this enormous project. Using the most advanced armor and armament technology, Egypt has commenced the manufacture of this tank where America left off and not where the tank industry began.

It is the story of Egyptian perseverance and team effort that surmounted the worst difficulties and obstacles, taking Egypt into the world of the year 2000 tank technology and, indeed, the armored steel industry. Computers with artificial intelligence are the rage of the next century. [passages omitted]

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Allow me to ask a question: What do production rather than repair and maintenance workshops mean in practical terms?

Major General Engineer Muhammad Salam, 58, with a 31-year engineering career in the armored corps, replied:

Engineering production in the tank sector means that Egypt has a number of experts in tank technology and heat treatment, in electronic and mechanical spare parts manufacture, in arms and ammunition manufacture and, indeed, in plating technology. Yes, plating. Every part inside the tank has special plating manufactured in accordance with secret scientific specifications. Each part is plated with a specific substance to protect it against rust during storage and use. These functions are totally different from tank repair and maintenance. [passages omitted]

Prior to 1984 and following careful field research on the size of Eastern tanks that will be taken out of service, the size of Western tanks put into service and our subsequent needs of main battle tanks and armored personnel carriers for the mechanized infantry, our armed forces completed an important study of its armored vehicle needs up to the year 2000. We made a comparison between our new project's capacity and our actual needs. We then took the first step when my colleague and friend

who graduated from the War College three months ahead of me, armored engineer Major General Mustafa Kamil Jayrallah, joined us to head our team, which took upon itself the implementation of the largest industrial project Egypt has witnessed throughout its entire history: a tank factory built on 660 feddans with a railway station for shipping and transportation that required a six-km railway track and 12 kms of internal and external roads.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] How many engineers did your first team have that undertook the core of the project?

[Salam] Five military engineers from the Armored Corps who personified the beginning of the challenge. They are:

- Major General Mustafa Kamil Jayrallah.
- Major General Muhammad Mursi Salam.
- Major General 'Ali Kamil.
- Brigadier General Nabil Mu'az.
- Brigadier General Kamal Salih.

Other young engineers joined us and they have had the distinction of working on this project as of the beginning of 1986.

(AL-MUSAWWAR footnote: One of the five men told me that Eng. Salam named the new factory "My Life" as he used to do with tank workshops before that.)

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Why did you choose the American M1A1 tank to manufacture as the main battle tank for the Egyptian armed forces?

[Salam] A committee composed of experts from the Egyptian Armament Staff, the tank section and the new factory tested other tanks. We tested the German Leopard-2 tank, the French AMX tank, and the Russian T-72 tank. A comparison was made and the advantages of all these tanks notwithstanding, the American tank was distinguished by a turbine rather than a diesel engine and by its mobility, maneuverability, fire power, and precision as well as by its armor that allows it to continue fighting even after it is hit, not to mention the protection it provides for the human crew inside it.

Furthermore, in 1986 we learned that America had developed its M1 tank by using the German Leopard-2 gun and called the new model M1A1. It is important to mention here that America did not interfere in our choice even though we will have to rely on American loans besides Egyptian financing to set up the factory and the production lines.

Before the end of 1986, I flew to America with my colleague Eng. Nabil Mu'az, at Washington's invitation, to attend a ceremony marking the delivery of the first tank of this kind to the American land forces. Thereafter, the Israeli lobby, with the aid of some labor unions in America and a number of newspapers, waged a massive campaign against us on the pretext that America will allow the transfer of the most serious military technology secrets to Egypt that poses a threat to America's workers

and national interest. The American Government, however, stood by Egypt and, after great difficulty, was able to convince Congress to approve the project! [passage omitted]

[AL-MUSAWWAR] I have heard, in my capacity as a journalist, that the M1A1 tank is equipped with composite armor that protects it against antiarmor ammunition. What does that mean and what other characteristics unknown to most Egyptian readers does it include?

[Salam] Composite armor, which represents layers of steel separated by nonliquid materials, is one of the top secrets of the tank industry of the future and I am not at liberty to talk about it. This replaces the old method of increasing the thickness of the armor, thus impeding the tank's mobility. It also embodies the latest mechanical designs, in addition to a thermal sight that eliminates tank blindness.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] (interrupting) But it is a known fact that Egyptian engineers manufactured the necessary Egyptian tank equipment that transfers darkness into bright light, one of Egyptian surprises that took the Israeli army in Sinai unaware in the 1973 October War and about which Israeli commanders talked after the war. Is this not true?

[Salam] Yes. This, in fact, is true and we used night sights, which had undergone several stages of development. The new American tank equipment, however, is thermal and it differentiates between living and dead personnel and gives signals to the crew about movements on the battlefield, including enemy troops deeply entrenched in a ditch. It gives information about anything that moves and about all living beings and their number. In addition, the tank has a laser-operated ballistic computer with artificial intelligence [AI], the latest rage of the turn of the 20th century and the next century, that can change distances with great precision and can pinpoint targets without any margin of error. It also has electronic sensors that compute wind direction and external temperature at specific distances. It also provides accurate data on various natural conditions that interfere with the tank's field of fire. All this information is received by the AI computer that processes the scientific data and sends a message to the fighter inside the tank within a few seconds, not even a minute. It also has highly sophisticated state-of-the-art target-engagement equipment that uses TV screens to carry out quickly engagement and combat orders in less than half a minute, thus saving the tank crew physical, emotional, and mental stress. Engagement and combat is managed by automation.

This tank is also equipped with antibiological, chemical, and nuclear warfare devices and, therefore, is able to stay in combat in various unnatural conditions.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] Where do you get the skilled technical manpower necessary to operate this factory?

[Salam] We used highly experienced cadres who have quit the armed services and skilled civilian cadres who are trained at the armed services workshops and the military production plants, attend other training courses in the United States, and finally join a permanent training center at the factory to raise their efficiency through progressive training up to the point of ongoing self-training. This center is run by a team that received advanced training at American factories and comprises the core of Egyptian instructors.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] I have heard that one tank requires several thousand mechanical and electronic parts and tens of factories. How true is that?

[Salam] Yes, the tank's components range between 20,000 and 30,000 parts and the more advanced the tank is the greater the number of parts it requires. We may need over 100 factories to take part in its construction. Therefore, the private sector will work with us on the feeder industries and the supplementary industries such as ammunition will be produced by the military industrialization factory engineers and the public sector so that we may begin where America left off and not where it began. This tank, which is airconditioned, is a 1988 production and will be in the service in the American armed forces until the year 2010.

[AL-MUSAWWAR] When will the first Egyptian tank be put into field service?

[Salam] The time has been set for July 1992, God willing. By next September, we will have manufactured 85 percent of the tank's components.

Easing Currency Controls Said Way To Attract Capital

900A0264A Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM
in Arabic 9 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Mahmud Salim and Amimah Kamal: "Crime at the Airport: Traveler Carrying Dollars"]

[Text] This story happened at Cairo International Airport a few days ago.

A leading Arab businessman stood in line waiting to complete his travel procedures. Suddenly a customs officer approached him to ask him if he was carrying any dollars. The businessman simply said he was not and thought that would satisfy the customs officer. But that was not to be. They said they wanted to make sure personally and a body "search", from the tip of his head to the bottom of his feet, began. They searched everywhere, even his shoes, but did not find anything, so they went looking for others!

The only thing the man did was to laugh sardonically, saying, "Do you want to search me or to rob me?" He then headed for the airplane going to Sanaa. He wanted, however, to vent his anger, so he began relating his incident to everyone he met. The last person to hear his

story was Dr. Mustafa al-Sa'id, former minister of economy who in turn related it to me with astonishment.

Why is this happening to travelers? What is the excuse of foreign currency officials in Egypt? How do economic experts view such pursuit? Is it necessary to keep foreign currency controls in Egypt when the communist countries themselves are thinking of cancelling them?

When Dr. Mustafa al-Sa'id related this story, I asked him what he thought of it. He explained that, according to the current currency law, any Egyptian citizen wishing to transfer any amount of money in foreign currency out of the country can easily do so through the banks.

Furthermore, the currency law does not penalize possession of foreign currency. In other words, any individual may possess and transfer foreign currency out of Egypt. Therefore, there is a contradiction with regard to penalizing individuals carrying banknotes while traveling. To reconcile the rule and the wisdom of this law, no person is supposed to be penalized for taking foreign currency out of the country because he can do so before boarding the plane. He added, "In the interest of promoting tourism, tourists and businessmen coming to Egypt must be well treated and must not be punished for unfamiliarity with valid currency regulations, especially since the law grants a "reward" for seizing foreign currency carried by travelers, and this could lead to excesses on the part of airport and seaport executives.

Open the Door

The matter of cancelling foreign currency controls merits debate, given the fact that many communist countries are gaining freedom and shaking off such restrictions that have fettered them for a long time. Here is what the renowned economist Dr. Ahmad Zindu, governor of the Central Bank and former minister of finance who is currently president of the Islamic Faysal Bank, says, "I favor the idea of easing currency controls in preparation for their elimination. These controls ought to be reconsidered. Economic freedom requires a great deal of freedom of action with respect to foreign currency transactions. We would like under the new circumstances to attract as much foreign currency capital as possible, but this cannot be achieved under present restrictions. Foreign investors will not bring their capital into the country unless free economy is encouraged and they can then be assured that their money can be sent out of the country easily and without complications and declarations. Tax and other exemptions are not as important to them as the ability to transfer their money easily and at any time. They look for a suitable investment climate."

I asked Ahmad Zindu, "A few years ago you were the governor of the Central Bank and the minister of finance. How do you justify the presence of these restrictions under your watch?"

He said, "There is a big difference between the sixties and the present time. In the past, Egypt had foreign capital which used to be smuggled out of the country.

Restrictions on taking such capital out of the country had to be placed to insure that this was done gradually in order to avoid a foreign currency 'drain.' Things are different now and we ought to consider that what is required now is full economic freedom. When this happens, capital will begin to come in and less will go out."

Dr. Ahmad Zindu emphasized, "We should not be afraid of eliminating foreign currency controls. Do not be afraid of economic freedom for it will take care of many of our other problems."

No Need for Restrictions

American University of Cairo professor of economics Dr. Midhat Husayn stressed the same point. He believes that so long as the country allows transferable foreign currency accounts, restrictions on such transfers are rendered meaningless given the fact that most travelers are tourists who are unfamiliar with Egyptian currency laws.

As for Egyptians, most of whom travel for the pilgrimage, medical treatment, or study abroad, they can, under valid Egyptian laws, buy foreign currency in any form either through assignments from free accounts or directly from individuals.

Smuggling Is Easy

If officials use smuggling as an excuse for their airport searches, smuggling is very easy to do. There are a thousand ways to smuggle, the most significant of which may be what 'Adil Sadiq, vice president of the Delta International Bank, talked about, namely "laundering". He cited that in support of the elimination of foreign currency controls. He says that a person carrying \$1,000 or \$2,000 does not intend to smuggle in any way. Smuggling has its own methods and laundering is one of them. It works this way: money to be smuggled out of the country is given to people in Egypt who will deliver it abroad for a commission.

Alternative System

There is someone, however, who supports restrictions on foreign currency movement into and out of the country. He is Mahmud 'Abdallah, president of the Bank of Cairo. Nonetheless, he is not fully satisfied with the customs declaration system whereby people coming into Egypt have to submit a declaration form listing the amount of foreign currency they bring into the country so that they may take it out when they leave. The president of the Bank of Cairo proposes the Tunisian alternative which works as follows: tourists write down on a card the amount of money they are carrying as well as all the money they spend, and what is left of Egyptian currency may be exchanged into foreign currency upon their return. This method is practiced in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. It solves many of the problems encountered at airports when authorities refuse to exchange leftover Egyptian currency with foreign currency. Many unfortunate scenes have occurred because

of this. One time, a tourist tore up some Egyptian pounds in front of everyone and threw them on the floor!

Mahmud 'Abdallah justified his support of foreign currency restrictions by the fact that a country like the United States has such restrictions limiting the maximum amount allowed to be taken out of the country to \$25,000. Britain sets this amount to 5,000 pounds sterling which is posted on a large sign at Heathrow Airport. Italy does the same. These are all capitalist nations.

Circumstances Do Not Allow

Whereas some people are for and some are against the elimination of foreign currency controls, Dr. Sultan Abu-'Ali, former minister of economy, believes that foreign currency controls are in effect in most countries of the world, albeit with varying degrees of complexity. He says, "We in Egypt liberalized foreign currency transactions to a large degree in the seventies by allowing foreign currency amounts to be maintained and transfers from free accounts as well as from personal resources revenues, etc., to be freely made. This has had a positive impact. I do not think that there are legal restrictions on the amounts of foreign currency tourists are allowed to carry. The problem lies basically in application and procedure, including failure to publicize adequately foreign currency transaction procedures to tourists on planes, at embassies or at Egyptian airports, and the difficulty of obtaining foreign currency declaration forms and failure to stamp such forms.

"Therefore, what is required is not law amendments but rather more coordination among control authorities. I do not believe that current circumstances allow the elimination of currency controls and such a step will not be in the national economic interest."

This issue with its problems and dimensions was put to the man in charge of currency affairs at the Ministry of Economy, Dr. Rafiq Suwaylim, first undersecretary of state for currency affairs, who said: "We are not against the total liberalization of foreign currency transactions, but we will not be able to put this into effect under the present economic circumstances when the country is suffering from a foreign currency crisis. In the most liberal Western countries, like France for example when it was faced with a foreign currency crisis five years ago, it placed restrictions on taking French francs out of the country.

"Placing restrictions on currency leaving the country is not an arbitrary measure on the part of the economic authorities in Egypt. Rather, it is based on necessary considerations aimed at ensuring that the source of the money is known.

"In this case, any amount of foreign currency brought into the country through customs or from free accounts may be taken out of the country, even many years later.

"The law stipulates that the source of the money be known in order to ascertain whether it is redeemable by

the government. Certain foreign currency proceeds, such as export and tourist revenues and all public sector and government returns, must be redeemed by the government, save for certain exceptions where public and private sector exporters are allowed to keep such proceeds for business use. This allows the government to provide for all the basic needs of the people.

"However, part of the foreign currency proceeds, such as Egyptian savings abroad and the revenues of law offices and consulting firms offering services to foreigners, are not redeemable and may be freely used or kept inside or outside the country.

"The ministry has greatly simplified foreign currency procedures by allowing the people to open free foreign currency accounts at Egyptian banks and to dispose of them either by selling them or by taking them out of the country, provided that this is done through the banks. The ministry has also instituted a new simplified procedure concerning foreign currency of unknown sources. Such currency may be deposited in an import bank account and the importer is allowed to use \$500 per family member per year for foreign travel."

We Will Not Favor Foreigners

In reply to the demand that foreign tourists be allowed to take out the currency rather than confiscating it, the undersecretary for economic affairs says: "I object to the principle that discriminates between Egyptians and foreigners. How can we favor the 'foreigner' over the Egyptian in currency transactions?"

Dr. Rafiq emphasized that following several meetings held in the past with the competent tourist and customs authorities, an agreement was reached to apply the principle of accommodation that gives the customs officers, who is in charge of implementation instead of the security officer, the right not to take any legal measures such as confiscation should he believe that the traveler obtained the foreign currency legally, even in the absence of documentation showing the source of the currency.

He added that in the past few days the Ministry of Economy agreed to return money recently confiscated from some tourists after the tourists filed complaints with the ministry and provided documentation proving that they brought the money into the country with them.

As for the Sudanese tourist whose money was confiscated a few days ago, prosecution papers submitted to the currency sector showed that he had not presented a customs declaration showing that he was carrying foreign currency when he entered the country or a bank statement showing the source of the money. He said, "The ministry is totally willing to return this money when such a statement is presented. The law gives him this right."

Editorial Criticizes Gorbachev's Azerbaijan Actions

Gorbachev Compared to Ceausescu

900A0272A Cairo *AL-JUMHURIYAH*
in Arabic 22 Jan 90 p 10

[Editorial: "Dividing Lines"]

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is in the same deep water as former Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu who was sentenced to death.

Ceausescu made a mistake his people could not forgive. He used the army to strike at the freedom seekers who longed to breathe new clean air so that they could feel their humanity, which has been taken away from them over the last 24 years.

Today, Gorbachev is moving rapidly toward the same abyss. He has dispatched armed forces to kill his countrymen in Azerbaijan and to demolish their homes over their heads and chase them in the streets!

I am not debating here whether or not the Azerbaijanis used the proper means to ask for their rights. The important thing is that blood is being shed, families are being displaced, and men and children are being crushed by tanks!

Thus, Gorbachev has ruptured the most precious bonds with his countrymen and, consequently, will not escape the harsh reckoning, especially since ever since he took over the rule in the Soviet Union, he has not given one indication of his intentions to diminish the communist party's ascendancy as he watched the majority of communist parties in East Europe fall one after another. Witness the fact that when he was compelled to change the leadership in Azerbaijan, he replaced it with another communist one, utterly refusing to leave it up to the Azerbaijanis to choose their leadership for the simple reason that they are mostly Muslims and comrade Gorbachev, naturally, is antireligion.

The Soviet people throughout the republics listened to the appeal Gorbachev made to the fighting people of Azerbaijan and Armenia with disdain and bitter criticism. He called for discipline, but a few hours later artillery fire became the only language of communication.

Time has shown that the slogan of political and economic restructuring Gorbachev raised, thereby attracting world attention, suffered a setback at the first practical test. This slogan, perestroika, is only a name. The essence of life in the Soviet Union has not undergone any radical change.

Suffice it to say that people are wondering in their hearts about one thing: When will the army stop carrying out Gorbachev's instructions to kill civilians?

And the wondering eyes turn to a far, far away place...to Bucharest!

Gorbachev's 'Christian Devotion' Revealed

900A0272B Cairo *AL-NUR* in Arabic 24 Jan 90 p 7

[Article: "Islamic Issues: Azerbaijan, Truth and Responsibility"]

[Text] Current events in Azerbaijan must not be viewed as just a few lines to be skimmed over looking for other news.

Events in Azerbaijan are an extension of the crusades that began in certain "advanced" European countries whose problems, both European and communist, are now over and the only thing left for them is the Muslims. They are trying to annihilate them and are fighting them with their livelihood and, indeed, with their religious sites.

These events are also an actual and practical test of Gorbachev's claims and proclamations that bring to light the "crusader" in him.

For while the Soviet regime has allowed the Christians to reclaim all their places of worship, to retrieve their religious books, to hold celebrations and to receive Christian delegations, it has given the Muslims only a very small part of what the Christians have obtained, as a kind of propaganda for the new regime and nothing else!

Then the opportunity to annihilate the Muslims in an Islamic "republic" presented itself. The media everywhere said that Soviet intervention was aimed at settling the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia; or between Muslims and Christians.

To that end, regular army troops set out to occupy the capital of Azerbaijan and Soviet soldiers turned to the people of Azerbaijan

And, about Armenia...nothing.

The issue is not a matter of disagreement between two regions. It is that of a people asking for their right to perform their religious rites, to regain their religious tenets, to raise the banner of Muhammad, and to make amends for all the years they lived under atheist rule.

I am not making judgments here. I am merely reporting what Radio London said in its Friday broadcast quoting Gorbachev, who contends that these upheavals were undertaken by a bunch of radical Muslims who must be eradicated. The announcer said later in the news broadcast that thousands of Muslims in Azerbaijan had broken through the Iranian border to hold prayers in the mosques, and then returned. The meaning of this is that thousands are denied the of holding prayers, and have no place and means in Azerbaijan to perform their prayers. They are denied even the Friday prayer.

And for that they are punished.

This is only a minor side of the true situation in Azerbaijan. It is also one more responsibility facing the Islamic world establishments, the peoples of the Islamic world, and the Islamic mass media everywhere.

I am calling for the creation of an Islamic popular committee, comprised of those who have forced themselves on our Islamic reality as establishment officials and advocates, to report to us on what is truly occurring in Muslim Azerbaijan. On the same level, our Islamic country has prosperous press establishments, thank God. So why are they not reporting news about the massacre of Muslims in Azerbaijan and about what the Muslims are going through? Where is the truth about what is happening in a land where our brothers in religion want to perform their religious rites and exalt the Book of God in application, word and deed? Have these establishments stopped devoting their financial resources to provide such coverage to the Muslims of the world. Is it not a lot better than other media "coverage"?

As for the peoples of the Islamic world, I do not know how to address them now that they have closed their hearts, before their ears, to everything that the Muslims are going through everywhere, from India to Europe to Africa.

O Muslims of the world, unite...move into action, hold fast to God...before God in his wrath sends you the deluge to take you away and put in your place "honorable" people.

Editorial Assesses Public Mood Toward Future as Uneasy

*900A0283A Cairo UKTUBAR
in Arabic 7 Jan 90 pp 3-4*

[Article by Salah Muntasir: "Egypt in the Nineties: Why This Anxiety?"]

[Excerpts] Delve into the deep recesses of the Egyptian soul and you will feel a perceptible sense of unease, fear of tomorrow, and a lack of sense of security. Why? Taking a fair look at the outcome of the eighties would show that we have been able to accomplish many achievements. Egyptian industrialists have built new industrial towns that have become a new landmark for distinguished visitors to Egypt to visit. New major telephone, electricity, sewage, and water supply projects have been completed, and new streets, overpasses, and a Cairo that is different from before are yet another landmark. Excellent relations with different world countries—Arab, Western, Northern, Eastern, and Southern—have been established.

Perhaps the most evident example of this is the fact that during one year Egypt inaugurated three major projects reflecting these relations: the Cairo Opera House, a gift from Japan; the October Panorama, built with the help of Koreans; and the Conference Center, a gift from China.

If you walk down the streets of any town from Aswan to Dumyat you will perceive a great sense of security. Despite all the manifestations of extremism in certain areas or in certain quarters, the prevalent feeling is one of security, something that does not happen in many countries.

Nevertheless, there is that hidden sense of anxiety.

Some time in the past there was fear of sudden measures the government might decide to take, measures involving custodianship, nationalization, and confiscation [of property]... wealth and children are the joy of life in this world. It is in human beings' nature to fear for their properties. But after eight years of Mubarak's rule, it has become clear and even certain that there will be no return to the exceptional measures of the past: no confiscation, no custodianship, and no nationalization. Rather, there is encouragement for every one to invest his money. This is what has actually happened and what is evident in the number of Egyptian investors who packed the towns of Ten Ramadan, al-Sadat, and October and others with their projects.

Nevertheless, as we are approaching the nineties this vague feeling of unease is still felt by most people. Why?

It is in man's nature not to worry too much about his present but rather about his future. This concern over the future happens only when the future cannot be seen, when vision is obscured by thick clouds behind which one does not know what lies, how long will they last, and how to tackle them.

This blurred vision, in my view, has both domestic and foreign reasons of which I can list the following:

1) The world having become one single unit strongly linked together has enabled man anywhere to see and learn about the life of others clearly and in detail. Thus, the question being asked nowadays is not how do I live but how is my life in comparison with the standard of living of other people.

Although there are countries that are much poorer than us which suffer more acutely, we—and this is a universal nature—always look toward those who live better than us, thus torturing ourselves by comparing our lives with theirs.

2) Our suffering is exacerbated by the fact that the other people's movement seems like a fast sprint on the road while we are dragging our feet; they run while we walk, they jump while we are stuck to the ground. Therefore, naturally man asks himself: Is it true—as it is claimed—that we live in the space age? Perhaps it is more correct to say that we live as witnesses of the space age with its vast horizons and its advanced technology. Can movie goers become heroes of the film they are watching? Will our role be more than just spectators?

3) Despite the many projects we have been able to complete in recent years, there are certain basic issues toward which we have been unable to decide our attitude

or have been avoiding facing them, such as the issues of the public sector, the relationship between the landlord and the tenant, whether of farm land or buildings, and of education and administration.

4) Despite all the efforts we make, the demon of population growth is devouring all the fruits of our work. Countries complain of population growth only in one case, when their resources are incapable of feeding all the mouths in them. This is one of our most serious problems. Indeed it is probably the most serious dark and thick cloud. What then is to be done? How can we, since today we can hardly put our children in schools—I wouldn't dare say we are teaching them—find for the new arrivals sufficient schools, hospitals to treat them, houses to accommodate them, and even streets in which they can walk?

The question of land and limited space is part of the problem. What makes things worse here is the steady encroachment on farmland in order to erect buildings on it, thus depriving us of its yield.

5) We are certainly troubled by the vague sense that the necessary harmony within the ministerial group is nonexistent. Differences in views are desirable and even natural, but it is also necessary that there should be harmony that would make the citizens feel that the group is integrated. Although it is playing different musical instruments, it should be playing the same tune. But looking closely at the situation one would notice that some use their instrument in order to irritate others or prevent other players from playing.

6) Food and work are man's first needs. The principal reason for our suffering is that we have begun to depend on other countries for food and we are not creating job opportunities for our children at home.

7) The word "debt" has become one of the insufferable words that torture us. It is true that most of the world countries, including the United States, are in debt. But one's suffering become more acute when he feels that the likelihood of repaying what he owes seem impossible. [passage omitted]

It is therefore possible that in the near future we will not be able to find the amount of aid we are now obtaining from the others. This perhaps is the worst possibility we are actually facing at present.

If a new term called the "government's children", used to characterize the disease of the citizen's reliance on the government in all aspects of his life—food, housing, and medicine—has entered the dictionary recently, then obviously this disease is not confined to citizens but also applies to countries that have become entirely dependent on others for their life. So it can be said that we now have what can be called the "world's children" who for their food and aid depend on others. [passage omitted]

IRAQ

Text of 'Secret' Documents on Political Reforms

90OL0253A Paris *AL-YAWM AL-SABI'*
in Arabic 12, 19 Feb 90

[Report on "Minutes of Iraqi Leadership's Discussions on Developing Democracy; Saddam Husayn: Toward Popular Democracy, Not Minority Democracy; Sa'dun Hammadi: We Need Legislation on Liberties, Administrative Judiciary, and Citizen Criticism"]

[12 Feb 90 pp 15-17]

[Text] *AL-YAWM AL-SABI'* publishes here part four of the secret document it has acquired on the minutes of the Iraqi leadership's discussions on the need to develop democracy in order to confront the Iraqi, Arab, and international developments. In this regard, this is the first Arab dialogue document of its kind. It gains special importance from the fact that it charts the form the future Iraq will assume.

In this part, the Iraqi leadership, headed by President Saddam Husayn, continues discussing the issues of democracy in Iraq. This part includes two main dissertations by Taha Yasin Ramadan and Sa'dun Hammadi, with clarifications by President Saddam Husayn. Following are details of the dialogue:

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan: Mr. President, I talked briefly in the previous meeting about my viewpoint regarding the steps that must be taken. In the prelude, I said that after nearly 21 years on the path of building the model experiment, we need more effective and realistic formulae within the democratic framework, particularly in connection with dealing with the people and with giving the citizen, and consequently the organizations and institutions, a more influential role.

I give priority to the issue of the relationship with the people because any development occurring in this aspect will reflect positively on the party and will lead to innovating more realistic formulae to enable the party to perform its leadership role and to entrench its relationship with the people.

Party and Democracy

I believe that all the directives we are drafting to revitalize the party's movement and to strengthen its leadership role in the government and the society will fail to achieve their objectives unless every party member feels that there is a debate and a challenge facing him directly. This is a human condition we encounter in every sphere (p 132).

It is my conviction that the administrative apparatus is more advanced than the party apparatus. The party apparatus still needs one or two weeks to complete any transaction which the government apparatus can complete in three days. I don't believe that any competition has materialized between the government apparatus and

the party apparatus. But if we create real competition between the party and similar organizations with the aim of gaining the people's confidence and, consequently, of leading them through the creation of organizations and parties, i.e. through codified and guided pluralism, then this formula will stir our party apparatus and encourage it to develop its structures and to entrench its human relationship with the people. Distinction, the leadership role, and pioneership will belong to whoever works best and to whichever party deals with the other people more convincingly than other parties and organizations performing the same task in the same place. I am confident of our comrades' capabilities. If motivated, we will find that they will fill the area assigned them and go beyond and that productivity will increase in every field (p 133).

We have said in the government that whoever fails to cultivate his land for two years will have it confiscated from him. But there is no authority to tell the leadership of a Ba'th Party branch in a given area "somebody else will take the leadership over from you if you do not work seriously," because such a thing cannot be codified.

In view of all of this, I find that the democracy issue, led by the questions of party plurality, the people's watchdog role, and other issues, is what will touch off the great capabilities of our party, of the state agencies, and of the party comrades at all levels (p 134).

Pluralism

I am for party plurality in principle. Even though pluralism has existed practically since 1970, this existence has taken the shape of a ready-made form, such as the communist party, or the form of other parties within the front.

However, I am not for reviving the old parties, even though five people from the Independence Party or from outside this party can proclaim a party and call it the "independence party" or give it some other name. But it does not serve the objective we seek to go and knock at the door of five or six veterans or others and tell them: Come and apply for a permit for the "independence party." This is why I said in the previous session that we must steer away from this formula (p 135).

I am convinced of the importance of a pluralism with an effective formula, not with the formula we enacted in 1970 or with a formula in which we play a direct role, i.e., I am convinced of a formula which we do not fundamentally support but for which we will still facilitate the way. This does not mean that the party should abandon its responsibility in this regard.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: To the contrary. This entire discussion is intended to bolster the historical leadership role of the Ba'th Party.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan: Yes, Mr. President. It has been proven to us that our country has achieved its greatest period of stability, development, prosperity, and pride under the Ba'th Party rule. We can read this

historical role in the eyes of the majority without any referendum (p 136). I am not citing here the example of the 10 al-Da'wah Party members who plot and assassinate or the example of members of Jalal al-Talabani party. I am citing here people who were members of previous governments and eras and who say: If it were not for the Ba'th Party rule, the country would have been defeated by the Iranian aggression. They say this as all honorable people say it. Isn't this appreciation?

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: Such people include 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Arif.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan: Yes, I mean 'Arif and other good people.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: Yes, everybody, including those who love [Ba'th Party] and those who don't.

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan: If there are people who booby-trap vehicles and plot against Iraq because it is fighting Iran, then we will find such people even a 100 years from now. We must not consider such groups a part of the people. We must consider the general situation.

Some party and nonparty people may be initially concerned with pluralism, not out of fear of pluralism but out of concern for the party and for its historical role and out of fear of returning to a past phase which they wish to forget. Our task is not only national but national and pan-Arab simultaneously (p 137).

Higher Committee

On this basis, I say that our role in pluralism is to draft a law that permits the formation and plurality of parties according to certain principles. I will not touch on these principles because your excellency was kind enough to dwell on them at this meeting (see President Saddam's comprehensive talk in the preceding edition of AL-YAWM AL-SABI'). [See JPRS-NEA-90-013; 28 Feb 90; Iraq 90OL0239A.] Since the previous meeting, I have been more than convinced and reassured. When I seek reassurance, it is because I want to be more enthusiastic. Therefore, I will not mention the principles which must be included in the parties law. But the thing I want to say is that there has to be a higher committee, headed by the interior minister or including this minister as a member. The interior minister should not ban or license parties. The higher committee should be the authority that discusses any application for the formation of a party. One person may not be careful or may err at times. Three or four persons forming the committee should be the authority that determines whether a party may or may not be licensed. What I mean is that when the parties law is issued, the decision to license or dissolve any party should be made by a higher committee that includes the minister of interior and not by one individual or one official only. This formula averts rumors and suspicion-casting and prevents saddling just one person with the responsibility (p 138). The committee decision should be final.

I am for issuing and publicizing a law. We must issue the law even if only one party is formed and we must not set

a deadline for implementing this law and must not say that an individual may not apply (to form a party) after one or two years. No. This is a parties law. One party may apply today and another may apply in 10 years.

I am not for permitting the formation of fronts, not between the other parties nor between the Ba'ath Party and other parties. But should we permit the merger of two parties after they are founded and licensed? I believe that there is a viewpoint that is worth hearing in this case, namely that any merger between two parties must be approved in advance.

The law must also include penalties for a party that errs. Such penalties do not have to mean a shift from permission to abolition. Rather, they should be penalties that escalate gradually to reach the point of abolition.

Comrade 'Izzah Ibrahim: Penalties such as suspending a party's newspaper?

Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan: Yes, as well as banning and liquidating a party finally and confiscating its property. But the penalties should be gradual. What I mean is that we should not license a party today and tell it to depart tomorrow. We should be entitled to tell a party to go, but with a prelude and with guidance. This is our party's historical role in this issue. As for the principles you, Mr. President, have mentioned, such as sectarianism, lackeyhood, and disavowal of the al-Qadisiyah battle, your Excellency has touched on more than one aspect of these principles.

Press

We can now draft a press law and establish press principles because I also believe that there is no competition in the press, not between the journalists, the intellectuals, the papers, or between the magazines.

It is my opinion that the press should be reexamined, that a formula should be developed and submitted as if other parties did exist. Then we can say: This is the press law.

I am not for the formation of a party or the foundation of a newspaper by an individual. The founder can be an association, a group of individuals, or an executive committee consisting of no less than 10 or 20 individuals who can be viewed as the paper's constituent assembly.

If we draft a good press law, it will play a role in opinions expressed on the parties law and on what precedes the formation of parties. The press law must precede the parties law in order that it may get things started. When the other laws are issued, the papers can start debating the laws and expressing opinions and publishing commentaries on them. This will have a very great impact.

RCC

As for the RCC [Revolution Command Council], I support its continued presence for the considerations you mentioned in the previous meeting and according to

the formula and role spelled out in your excellency's talk, i.e. it should participate with the National Assembly in making legislation (p 140).

Regarding the cabinet question, what concerns me in it is the presidential aspect. What I mean is that the presidential system should continue for at least two more years. If we approve this principle, then we must amend the National Assembly law because it empowers the assembly to withdraw confidence from the prime minister and the ministers. This will not be the case if the system of government is presidential.

It is my opinion that we need these two years for democratic laws, for completing the administration, and for the decrees that will need a certain period of time to be issued (p 141). This does not mean that the democratic laws should be issued after two years. No, I am for issuing them in stages as of the moment. The press [law] in one month, the parties in two months, and the constitution in one year. This is how matters should proceed. Emphasis must be put on the principle your Excellency has kindly noted. When we take a step, we must be clearly convinced of it and enthusiastic for it and we must play a leadership role to insure that the next step is not too distant.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi:

Supremacy of Law

Mr. President, after the address you delivered, there is no more place to discuss many issues because your word settled the issues most clearly, precisely, and profoundly. But I have the following observations:

First, embracing the principle of progression, I propose that we start with some issues that prepare the atmosphere and create a democratic climate as of now. The first thing to do is to take steps to insure supremacy of the law and to prevent government officials from engaging in illegal conduct (p 142).

Mr. President, some may wonder why I am talking about this issue. I believe that to this moment, there are still cases of illegal conduct by government officials, at times wittingly, at others out of indifference, and sometimes unknowingly. Those most likely to engage in illegal acts are people who belong to the security agencies and the governors. In some cases, governors may do things which they think are in the public interest, which may be so but which have no legal support. This, Mr. President, raises a question: In a democratic state, is a state official permitted to act illegally, even if his action is in the public interest? My personal opinion is that he may not. It is better to issue a new law or to amend the existing law to allow such action than to allow the official to engage in action unsupported legally because he believes that such action serves a public interest. I have examples, Mr. President, and my words are not theoretical. Supremacy of the law means that no state official is empowered to engage in an act unless an explicit law provision permits him to engage in it. It is extremely important for the citizen's reassurance that the progress

process occur through legislation and through the change of laws and not through the personal opinion of a state official or employee.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: Give us examples.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: A governor decides that it is wrong and harmful that butchers be scattered all over the city. So he instructs that all butchers be moved to one place in the city. Where is the law provision that permits a governor to force people to move from one place to another?

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: This governor did certainly not take into consideration where people could buy their meat. All he took into account was that it was not right that butchers should be scattered all over. He wanted to put them in one place to insure the sanitary and health control aspect. But he did not consider the question: As a group, how can the citizens carry their bags and go to that place? (p 143)

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: This comrade did not take into account that a butcher pays small rent for his shop, that his customers are close to him, and that if he leaves his shop and rents another one somewhere else the rent may be high, and so forth. What is important is that this comrade abandoned the idea after he was convinced by other comrades who pointed out to him the idea's drawbacks and did not abandon it because it was illegal.

Comrade 'Izzah Ibrahim: It is legal.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: Meaning that he has the right?

A participating comrade: It is a health issue.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: Alright, it is a health issue. But first cite a provision, amend the laws, and then...

Comrade 'Izzah Ibrahim: There is no law to stop the governor.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: The law as I understand it, Dr. Sa'dun, is that there can be no opinion where there is a provision. But when no provision exists, then interpretation is permissible. He who interprets correctly shall be doubly rewarded and he who interprets and errs shall be rewarded but once.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: But Mr. President, when an official issues such a decree, the contravener may be punished with a four-day prison term.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: In this case, it is a different matter, because the issue of personal liberty is involved here. By detaining an individual's personal liberty without a legal provision, the official will have violated the law.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi:

Liberty Laws

Second, I believe, Mr. President, that we need to liquidate all the laws and decrees that curtail the citizen's

freedom—laws and decrees that were issued under the war circumstances and earlier and that were justifiable at the time (p 144).

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: We have liquidated many of them and we are liquidating the rest. If any ideas occur to your minds or if you, especially the minister of interior, develop any opinions, then submit them to us as proposals and we are ready. The course is sound. It is not only that the war has ended. We have spent 21 years [in power] and it is unreasonable that all the measures we adopted 15 years ago are sound. It is possible that a part of those measures is outdated and has been outstripped by the phase.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi:

Administrative Judiciary

The third thing is, Mr. President, that I propose the legislation of an administrative judiciary law that permits the citizen to sue a state official if he believes that the official has acted illegally.

Comrade 'Izzah Ibrahim: Such a law already exists.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: It exists and I believe that we have reinforced it. We have said: Let it be published in the press and let the citizen be entitled to complain against government officials.

Comrade 'Izzah Ibrahim: Every circuit has its lawyer.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi:

Criticism of Officials

The fourth thing, Mr. President, is that I believe that the door should be opened for criticizing state officials by name in the press and that a public campaign should be launched to lift the immunity given to state officials. Why shouldn't the name of a state official be mentioned in the press if such an official harms so and so? I see no reason why not (p 145). The official's response can be published in the same part of the newspaper, as is customary in all parts of the world.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: No such immunity exists. You can criticize state officials by name.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: Fifth, the door should be opened for election propaganda in the National Assembly elections because election propaganda has been confined so far to the candidate's curriculum vitae. Why isn't a candidate allowed to issue a statement in which he explains his duties as a candidate member and what he plans to do for his area?

I believe that the National Assembly law contains an article which is ripe for amendment, namely the article on debating defense and security issues. Should the president wish to obstruct debate on this issue in certain cases, then this is possible. But there is no justification for an absolute ban on debating this issue.

I believe, Mr. President, that the majority of the National Assembly debates should be open to the public. What is intended by this is the following:

Permit the citizens to attend, within controls, the assembly sessions. There is no law provision that prohibits such attendance. But the practice has not been implemented so far, even though the assembly law says that the assembly sessions shall be open.

I also believe that we should apply the article which states that the minutes of the assembly sessions shall be published in the Official Gazette. This article is not applied yet.

The other thing, Mr. President, is that I believe that it is very important to publish more information on the assembly activities in the media, meaning on television and in the press. So far, we have been allocating no more than half a newspaper page for a session that lasts five hours. This space can cover no more than the headlines whose publication will arouse the public opinion's interest.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: I wish to draw attention to something. You do yourselves an injustice if you say or if some of you understand that you are launching a new beginning (in democracy). We must realize that the application of democracy is not the first formula but a formula for the phase. Instead of saying that we will exercise democracy, we should say that the expression of democracy in this phase requires the following:

The previous (National Assembly election) law is still fundamentally sound in urging that we provide equal propaganda opportunities and resources for the candidates.

Why should we treat the candidates equally?

If we proceed in this regard from the intellectual basis that as long as the candidates are fundamentally the people's representatives and not the representatives of companies or of interests, then where would they get the propaganda resources? If their propaganda resources vary, then the results produced will differ and will not honestly reflect the candidates' objective capabilities and reputation. The results produced will be an outcome of the difference in the propaganda capabilities and means. This is one of the things for which we criticize the capitalist system under which election results do not reflect the candidates' ability and capability. This is tantamount to undermining the application of the true essence of democracy. Therefore, to insure that the outcome will be compatible with personal capability and personal reputation, equal propaganda must be made available. Instead of permitting the divergence of propaganda capabilities among the candidates, we say that we should study the possibility of expanding the scope of propaganda without undermining its essence.

The details of the current (election propaganda) formula need to be reexamined. As for the essential question of equality, there will be no swerving from this equality.

I do not wish to define what should be added. We should, however, discuss whatever details can be discussed or are beneficial to discuss. As for equality, it is essentially magnificent and is a profound and genuine reflection of one aspect of the concept of the popular democracy and not the minority's democracy.

The idea that a candidate issue a statement on what he will do is a sound idea. Let the candidate address his public and let him struggle. If he fails to fulfill his promises to the public, then let him shoulder the responsibility for his failure, provided that whatever he advocates is not in conflict with the principles of the constitution. As for the issues that touch on national security, we must include in the constitution an article stating that the president of the republic shall be empowered to block debate on such issues in the assembly. We can make the other issues open.

As for opening the assembly sessions to those who wish to attend them, we have required in one of the presidential decrees that you open the National Assembly sessions to the social segments concerned and that you permit these segments to take part in the discussion, but not in the voting. I believe that our National Assembly is unique in this regard. When there is a decree concerning workers, their representatives attend. If the decree concerns merchants, their representative attends, and so forth.

If the ordinary citizen wishes to attend as a listener, then I agree. It is true that the assembly activities should be reported more widely in the media because this is educational for the people. This podium is for education and it is as magnificent as can be. For my part, I have been inclined to let the debates be shown on television and reported in the press.

The activities of [similar] assemblies in other countries are reported widely because newspaper chief editors attend the sessions, report the gist of the debates, give preference to certain opinions, disagree with other opinions, and criticize a third group of opinions. What I mean is that they do not so much report the letter of the debates as they interact with the assembly (pp 146-152).

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: As for preparing a progressive draft constitution, you have, Mr. President, discussed the matter and I have nothing to add.

The political system I see consists of:

- A president of the republic who has a moral and legal status.
- A presidential council that includes the current RCC to assist the president of the republic and to undertake the tasks which the president assigns to council members.
- A prime minister.

I believe that legislation should continue to be as it is now, i.e. dual legislation made by the National Assembly and the presidential council.

The prime minister, when he is not the president of the republic, should be accountable to the National Assembly and the president of the republic.

The National Assembly should be able to withdraw confidence from the cabinet in its entirety or from individual ministers. The assembly should also be able to check on the state agencies, as it does now.

As for pluralism, the issue has been settled, Mr. President. However, I wish to list what should be prohibited insofar as parties are concerned. I do not believe that other parties should hold opinions identical to ours so that they may be licensed. However, they must exceed a national minimum. It seems to me that this minimum is determined by the following four points:

- First, a negative position toward al-Qadisiyah (the war with Iran).
- Second, contact with foreigners.
- Third, working against the unity of Iraq and the Iraqi people.
- Fourth, crimes that violate honor.

Anything above this line should be tantamount to permissible opinions (p 153).

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: Regarding foreign contact, let us say contact with the outside world, be it foreign or Arab.

[19 Feb 90 pp 16-18]

[Text] This is the fifth and final part of the Iraqi secret document containing the Iraqi higher leadership's dialogue on the means to develop democracy in the direction of pluralism and free press—means which, it seems, have already entered the phase of practical implementation—in order to prepare to put Iraq on the path toward real internal change.

This fifth and final part of the Iraqi higher leadership's discussions on the future of democracy in Iraq contains a rich and frank debate on the free circulation of books and on the limits of press censorship. It also contains President Saddam Husayn's observations on these debates.

Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi: Finally, I have a word on the issue of free expression. What I precisely mean is the free entry of books and magazines. I believe that this is an extremely important issue. Your words a little earlier took us, the Ba'thists, back to what we were thinking when we joined the party. Frankly, as a Ba'thist, it never occurred to me when I joined the party and read its constitution that when our party gained power, it would establish censorship and that our people would not be able to read a book until it passed through the eye of the censor's needle. Perhaps I misunderstood the party thinking. But it is certain that I understood that free

expression would be protected and that everybody could read whatever they wanted under the umbrella of the party rule.

I wish to say something on this issue, Mr. President. It is proven physiologically that if we place an individual in a completely sterile chamber, this individual will die shortly after he leaves such a chamber. Why? Because his immunity will have weakened. This is the idea behind the vaccines injected into the human body in order to alert it so that it may develop immunity to these diseases. The same applies to ideas. Mr. President, if we make our party and our people live all the time in a sterile room or in a glass house, i.e. under artificially-controlled temperature and humidity, and if we don't allow them to experience anything beyond, then this means that we are working to gradually weaken their immunity. The only means to prevent Marxism or any other ideology from influencing our people is experience, exposure to other ideas, and debating such ideas. The means is to let the people read. There is free expression in Egypt. What harm has it caused? Nothing serious. There are some Muslim Brotherhood members; but all this will be surmounted with time. Less cultured, civilized, and original people than we are have advanced and developed, thanks to free expression. I do not wish to dwell on this issue, Mr. President, because you have spoken on it most eloquently. How can we, as a people, advance if we do not familiarize ourselves with the ideas of others and if we do not read?

We must read, familiarize ourselves, and debate. With time, we can develop immunity and the ability to distinguish and to know wrong from right. This, and not keeping our people in an artificial glass chamber, is the only means with which we can gain immunity. This is one of the most important issues. How can we transform Baghdad into a center of enlightenment if free expression does not exist? We have, for example, reached the point where a heritage book has been banned because it contains the names of the sects. Censorship ultimately means an official's will. It is easier for a censor to ban than to permit because we will not task him if he bans a 100 books whereas all hell breaks loose if he permits a book containing a prohibited word. So censorship is not a characteristic of the age, sir. Here is India and other third world countries that have not been destroyed by free expression and that have not developed those negative aspects which we fear. Freedom comes with practical application only. We cannot say: Let us withhold free expression until our people mature. He who wants to learn driving must practice. He may drive slow at one time and fast at another. He may swerve left one time and right another until he learns. He who wants to learn to swim has to get in the water. Freedom and democracy are gained through practice and not through the withholding of freedom. In war time, yes there is a justification for censorship. This is something which the whole world understands. But beyond this, Mr. President, I believe that free expression is indispensable. It is necessary to allow all publications to enter our country. This is

essentially harmless. Some subsidiary harm may occur, but we must put up with it as the price for the good thing which we will gain, namely immunity and cultural and intellectual development for our people. Iraq is well known as one of the best-read Arab countries where books are in heavy demand. Should we install a censor who permits this and prohibits that? Ultimately, three quarters of what is published in the world and most of what is published in the Arab world will end up being denied entry into our country and the country will read only what we publish here! I believe that in the long run, this is more harmful than beneficial. Thank you, Mr. President.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: In principle, I do not at all disagree with what Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi has said about the free entry from abroad of ideas that contradict or oppose our thinking. If one wishes to train somebody to be able to handle difficulties, the training should be gradually progressive. It is like the child growing gradually to become man and man maturing gradually to distinguish on his own right from wrong. But we must make this distinction: Magazines and newspapers are not the same as books. Books are ordinarily read by people who are often more cultured and mature and fewer in number, whereas newspapers and magazines are read by groups who are at various levels of maturity, awareness, and culture, and who come from a broader social spectrum. Moreover, books contain only the written word whereas newspapers and magazines contain what is read and what is seen, beginning with the image, with dress style, with living articles, such as a watch and a suit, and ending with the political, intellectual, and social article or other sorts of articles. There is a greater variety in newspapers and magazines than in books.

A magazine does not essentially reflect a condition of free expression. It may display goods which the people are not prepared to acquire and which are not found in the markets. If the citizens see such goods, they may covet them and this generates a negative feeling among them.

However, we must, and without dwelling on various details, make a distinction between the entry of books to Iraq and the entry of magazines or newspapers to Iraq and between what a book means, what a magazine means, and what other materials mean, because the issue concerns even films and videos. We have talked about and we are almost unanimous on a number of fundamental impermissibles. I have talked about these impermissibles and summed up their essence. Our discussions generally have focused on them. This group of impermissibles constitutes the minimum limit of what is permissible. Parties that will be licensed should steer away from impermissible printed, seen, and heard material. When we establish this in the constitution, wouldn't this require us to examine the printed, seen, and read material that enters the country and to find out for certain whether what enters violates or does not violate the limit of impermissibles on which we have agreed?

We will have to shoulder such a responsibility. Should we lift the impermissibles from the constitution and from the laws in order that freedom may subsequently be absolute? As long as we have talked in our discussions about the importance of controls for forming parties, then it behooves us not to abolish the controls on the entry of cultural and informational material to Iraq, and even on material that concerns taste or thought generally. What is required here is that we establish compatibility under all circumstances. The minister of culture and information, and not Comrade Latif, tells you that the constitution stipulates the following... How will I be tasked if you find a book or a magazine, whether published inside or outside Iraq, that is in violation of the constitution? Will you task me for failing to perform my duties? If you are going to task me when you read the book, then [I tell you] you are not entitled to task me because I am not in control of books. I am prohibited from licensing a book on the basis of its content. Even though what you say is true, i.e. it is truly easier for a censor to prohibit than to permit because when he permits, he shoulders responsibility for the content, the censor has to have a high level of awareness and has to exert himself in reading and examining to the point at which he believes that he will incur no moral or legal responsibility for what he has permitted. Herein lies the dilemma, Comrade Sa'dun. We have said that there have to be impermissibles. This is sound for a period of time. A certain impermissible may remain in place for a long time. As for gradual progression in stages, yes there will be gradual progression with the phases.

School Curricula

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that our school curricula on religion—the essence of religion—are deficient. I am not talking of subsidiary religious issues, but of the essence of religion and of the models that unite the nation in Islam, or of the models which we want to be uniting models and of which we as Arabs, including the Christians among us, are proud because these models played a role in proliferating the Islamic call. The models are those of Arab leaders. Such curricula are not adequately present in our school books, and this causes us to be apprehensive. We have said that we should at least develop in our children a degree of immunity against which they can measure the soundness or corruption of subsidiary interpretation in the light of a starting point or a background that is at least minimally sound. Therefore, I believe that the immunity of one who is acquainted with the fundamentals of religion is stronger than that of those who know absolutely nothing about religion. Such people are likely to fall prey to evil and corruption.

I believe that I told you this at a previous meeting. Precisely the same thing applies to thought generally, meaning that a person must have minimal acquaintance with philosophy as it comes from its sources. Such a person's immunity against corruption is stronger than that of an uninformed person.

The fact we are facing now, and it is one of the elements I have already mentioned, is that we have said that the world is diminishing and shrinking in size in terms of the exchange of knowledge, human cultures, and human influences through technological development, and through the facilities provided by the communication and transportation means. If we isolate ourselves now, then how will we face development when the United States, Russian, Israeli, and Indian satellites come to address the citizens in spite of us?

So we must allow the citizens a degree of knowledge. These are the issues that will face us practically and that will require us to establish a balance between our current state of maturity and our desire to become more mature as fast as possible, to acquaint ourselves with the human thought, and not to isolate ourselves from this thought so that we may be influential, not merely immunized against corruption. We are required to play a peaceful human role that goes beyond just building Iraq and the unity of the Iraqi people on firm foundations. These are the elements that are facing us and that we are required to consider and then say yes or no to censorship. How should the censorship be and from whom should it come? Is the censor permitted to make distinctions between writers? What agency, other than the Ministry of Culture and Information, should be formed to consider appeals against a decision partially or totally prohibiting the publication of a book or of something similar. These are not simple issues. However, we can find a solution for them by not isolating ourselves and by not obstructing the entry of thought into our country while we refrain at the same time from letting the doors fly wide open without any controls, considering that we have established in the debate that there have to be controls.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: Sir, in the previous session and in this session, we have discussed a number of fundamental issues. I believe that during the discussion, we have developed, in addition to the concepts—fundamental as they are—a context which we must entrench in order that we may program our debates for just the next phase. The successive frameworks or steps we have agreed on are as follows:

The first step is to begin with the National Assembly elections.

The second step we have to make is to draft a constitution. Many of the ideas we have debated in the two sessions need to be developed, reexamined, and confirmed when we discuss the constitution. These include the concepts of public liberties and parties and other fundamental domestic issues on which we have touched. Then comes the constitution and, subsequently, the issuance of the parties law. We will be then required to engage in a more profound and more detailed discussion on the parties issue. The comrades have now offered opinions but these opinions need to be ultimately crystallized and confirmed in order that we may make them presentable. I have an observation or a suggestion here.

In view of the numerous opinions or interpretations on how to form the parties, and in view of the concern we have over how these parties may conduct themselves, and the concern I expressed in the previous session regarding the likelihood that parties may not come into existence shortly after we issue the law—in view of the above, and so that we may give this issue its practical scope, I propose that we insert a provision that says that the parties will be formed within a year of the law's issuance. What I mean is that the constitution, which contains the main principles, should be issued first, and then the law should be introduced to the public and to those who wish to form parties. These people will have a full year to actually begin forming their parties so that the experiment may be more mature. The people wishing to form the parties can utilize this year to ask us questions and to request from us clarifications on the meaning of certain provisions and on what emanates from such provisions. So when these people actually begin forming the parties, they will be confident that the experiment will be bolstered and respected by the government and that it will produce the desired results.

One of the tasks which face us in the constitution and which we must accomplish before and while we draft the constitution, is the task of cementing the state structure. The state structure is not a superficial issue but an issue that is fundamentally connected with the entire process we are discussing. We have agreed that Iraq's presidency should be a strong presidency, and that the head of state is the country's symbol and should be an effective and strong head of the executive authority. What your Excellency has said about holding a popular referendum on the president of the republic or about having the president elected by the people is very fundamental in the democratic process.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: I recall that it was my opinion before the war that we conduct a referendum on the president of the republic.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: I still believe, sir, that the position of prime minister should be separated from the presidency. I am convinced of this and I believe that this issue is connected with the democratic process.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: And it serves a real interest.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: It serves a real interest connected with the symbol primarily.

A prime minister is not as significant symbolically as the country's leader. The presence of a prime minister permits questioning and allows for give and take. The prime minister may be told: You are wrong and the decision you have made is wrong. The prime minister's mistake may be proven in two or three months and people are given the opportunity to question and criticize him freely. Such a thing may not be done with the president of the republic and it is not practical to apply it with the head of the state because there are other considerations which the citizen takes into account. When an official

knows that a decision has been made by the president, he will say "let it pass." But when the decision is made by a prime minister or by a minister, then the official will debate it more freely. Consequently, the democratic experiment will be enriched. We have tried this in the National Assembly during the past two experiments [sessions]. During the first assembly, the ministers had immunity. Practically, this means that they could not be harassed. In the second assembly, we, the leadership members, enjoyed a high degree of immunity. I, as foreign minister, went to the assembly many times and was questioned politely. Even though it is our duty to respect each other, both young and old, it is also possible that an assembly member did not believe in a position I had expressed at the United Nations. But because I am an RCC member, they do not treat me the way they treat the minister of health. So the presence of a cabinet and a prime minister who can be subjected to questioning helps the National Assembly exercise its duties and powers in the democratic process which, we have agreed, is necessary to enrich the experiment.

We are in agreement on the National Assembly and we will form it. But we now come to the issue of the second assembly, meaning the RCC. We are RCC members and, therefore, we discuss matters with it freely. I have been an RCC member for 12 years. This is the country's highest legislative and executive institution and it gives its members privileges. I, as member of the RCC, have a privilege even over my comrades the command members. I believe that when we, as RCC members, discuss this council's feasibility and continuity in the coming phase, we should do so with a sense of responsibility for the entire experiment. The existing provision concerning the RCC as an authority will be incompatible with the legal situation arising when the president of the republic is elected by popular referendum. To date, the president of the republic has been elected by the RCC and is, according to the existing legal provision, accountable to the RCC. A president elected by the people will not be accountable to another authority. He will be constitutionally, morally, and historically accountable to the people.

So any future council formed by appointment should not have the formula that has governed the RCC in practice. There remains the issue of legislation. When we say, Mr. President, that there can be two authorities that legislate, we find that in numerous countries and experiments the head of state may legislate. There are, first, the periods when the National Assembly is not in session. In our experiment, the National Assembly is in session for half the year. There has to be a legislator in the other half. If we examine the Iraqi monarchic constitution, we find that the cabinet legislated when the National Assembly was not in session. The cabinet then presented its bills to the assembly to pass them when it reconvened. So the presence of an authority that legislates in the absence of the national assembly is an acknowledged tradition in numerous countries. Is it necessary to have a legislative body side by side with the National Assembly? I believe

that we should restudy and reexamine this issue. If we lead the National Assembly, then why do we need another authority to legislate side by side with this assembly? That is, if we truly lead it. But if we consider it a subsidiary assembly and if we do not have the power to lead it, then the answer is yes [we do need another legislative body]. But if we have the ability to lead it, and if we consider it a very influential institution in society and in the next phase, then the idea of the presence of another legislative body next to the National Assembly needs to be examined. I am convinced of the need for the presence of another assembly, and I have stated this at the meeting. The other assembly should be a part of the country's legislative body. What I mean is that it is an assembly which, along with the National Assembly, will take part in legislation. In the absence of the National Assembly, this other assembly will join with the president of the republic to make legislation, meaning that the assembly and the president of the republic will be in charge of issuing legislation jointly. But in this case, this assembly should have a formula that is broader than the RCC formula. This is the idea I proposed here at the previous meeting. This assembly should consist of 25-35 members. It can then include the current RCC, the party's Regional Command, and 10, 15, or 20 notables appointed by the president—this is the senate format we had in the past. These notables should have a prominent political or social position and should be selected by the president of the republic. This assembly can then engage in the legislative process.

As for the accompanying steps, the points raised by Comrade Sa'dun Hammadi are very important, sir. I may not agree with all that he has said about publications and the full elimination of censorship. But if the democratic process assumes its full dimension, then it will require greater liberties and more free expression. I, as a party official and an official of the cultural sector for a long time with Comrade Latif—I, and now Comrade Latif after me, have feared being brought to task by the government. This is why we have been strict on the issue of censorship. The censor, ordinarily a young and good Ba'thist general director, also fears being tasked by the government. We create an atmosphere of fear that makes the censor go to excess in his prohibitions. As Dr. Sa'dun has said, it is true that prohibition is easier. When I receive a report from the censorship director—a report which requires three or four hours of reading and also requires an intellectual and political decision—saying that there are points for and points against a certain book...When I find myself in a position where I am not in control, when I don't have enough time, and when I cannot see you and explain to you, sir, why I take the responsibility for deciding that this should be this way and not that way, then I try to avoid the issue. Consequently, there is a greater tendency to prohibit than to permit. This situation requires that we deal with it with a general decree and with private practice. But we do need greater intellectual openness. However, I believe that censorship on films, on books, on newspapers, and on magazines should continue. I do not support Dr.

Sa'dun. What he has said is essentially right. But there is in the world a deluge of publications which, if you will permit me to say at this meeting of ours, are intellectually dirty and sexually and morally obscene. We should not permit such publications. Whatever we may be, we are an Arab Islamic society which has its traditions and values and which does not permit everything.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: A development phase...Even a development phase does not mean that it is the French development phase.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: Sir, it is not just a development phase. Nations go through experiences. The French have banned sex movies and magazines. The French Government banned them two years ago. This does not mean that when a society rises to the highest cultural and democratic levels it permits anything. Such a society discovers that excesses occur because money gets involved. An immoral and unconscienable Frenchman may exploit the French laws and democracy and print books, magazines, pictures, and films which are ruinous to the youth in order that he may make a million or 2 million francs, and not because he holds a belief or because he has a theory. Meanwhile, intellectually and scientifically-serious material may be published even in such prohibited publications. Thus, the publisher can defend himself, can appeal to the judiciary, and can protect his right to freedom. So, a degree of vigilant censorship—i.e. of accuracy, especially for photographic material—and of courageous decisionmaking is required.

Sir, the questions of reexamining the laws and regulations that curtail personal liberties, of bolstering the judiciary's role, and of reducing the special laws are also fundamental issues that require more time in our country. We have numerous special laws that were not issued by the presidency or by the RCC.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: Numerous councils have been formed from the time the revolution broke out to the present. Some ministers issue laws on their own without consulting the legislators working with them to make sure of the soundness of the directives they issue. Is this law compatible or not? I don't believe that there is a minister who asks this question. Rather, the minister drafts the bill and refers it to higher authorities, or he determines what he believes to be beneficial without weighing his decision legally and constitutionally.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: Let me cite an example of how the ministers deal with the law. When I became foreign minister, I found that a large number of university graduates were assigned to administrative jobs, such as supervisor, assistant supervisor, and chief supervisor. I asked them: Why aren't you assigned to diplomatic posts? Their response was: We have to enroll in the Foreign Service Institute. So I told them: Then all of you go and enroll successively, and they did. I then asked the head of the administrative department: Can we enroll them in the institute? He said: Of course we can enroll

them. So they enrolled for a two-year course in the Foreign Service Institute and we gave them the rank of attaché when they graduated. But it then became apparent that the ceiling for an attaché's salary is 90 dinars whereas some of those who enrolled at the institute while holding the rank of chief supervisor had earned a salary of more than 120 dinars. So, we have given them the rank of attachés, but we do not have the salary to fit this rank. This happens after they are enrolled in the Foreign Service Institute and after time and effort are spent on them! Now, they are stuck.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: We do not approve of this. We will apply the law.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: So the minister should consult the employee on actions like these. We have written to you for approval. The employee does not review the law. This is the type of action on which the minister should consult with the employee.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: There are those who do not ask the employee, and I wish they would.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: The employee is governed by existing laws, whether for promotion or for similar things. There is the civil service disciplinary law. But we, the ministers, subject employees to illegal attack. What I mean is that it is ordinary for a minister to punish an employee illegally.

The other point to which we must pay attention and which we must reduce in the coming phase is the multiplicity of agencies that govern the employee's fate. What I mean is that the fact-finding committees formed to investigate civil servants include not only the committees formed in accordance with the state law, but also fact-finding committees formed on instructions issued as a result of informers' reports, i.e. as a result of one employee informing against another. When you measure such a report against the prevalent law governing the employee's work, you find that the report is worthless because it does not contain tangible evidence and because what the report contains may be part truth and part slander. Yet, investigations are conducted on the strength of such reports. Consequently, an employee may be punished or transferred from one position to another, not within the context of the law, but on the strength of administrative directives. This creates a climate of uncertainty among the employees and makes many of them disinclined to take the initiative or to shoulder responsibility. One reason that makes the employee disinclined to take the initiative is fear of the punishment that comes from unknown authorities and not the punishment that comes in accordance with the civil servants disciplinary law.

The final point I wish to touch on in passing is the issue of the absolute freedom of travel and of whether permitting travel abroad, even with a certain money remittance, is a total loss to the state. Let us consider this issue from two angles: The angle of the exercise of personal freedom and the economic angle.

Sir, your excellency is aware that throughout the past six years during which travel has been banned, Iraqi physicians have not attended a conference [abroad] and have not read new magazines, and that Iraqi lawyers, engineers, and numerous Iraqi professionals have not seen the world or the developments that have taken place in it in the past six years. This affects us.

The other point is that there are numerous citizens who can travel abroad without saddling the government with any cost. What harm is there in a person traveling without costing the state anything? These are among the things that we need to examine in order to determine how feasible they may be in the coming phase.

There remains, sir, the party's internal life. Your excellency and all the comrades have emphasized this issue. It requires that the same principles and tendencies be exercised, including elections and adherence to election outcome and reducing the official's custodianship over the organization. We live under secret action conditions and we have been accustomed to these conditions for a long time. The official is the one who reports the organization's news and who speaks about it, because we cannot always see the organization. When asked about it, the official may say that his organization is fine, that it has a trouble maker, a coward, and a brave member. What I mean is that the official is the one who characterizes his organization. This condition has not been totally eliminated, despite all the public ability to see. We discover from time to time that many Ba'thists are evaluated by their officials but they cannot evaluate the officials. The official can show up on the party theater, if we may use the phrase, and appear before your Excellency and before Comrade 'Izzah and the other comrades and say this or that Ba'thist is not good. There are exceptions, of course. We know the veteran cadre. But at present, our knowledge varies in degree.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: We are more knowledgeable now than in the past.

Comrade Tariq 'Aziz: Sir, I don't know the branch members now. The branch members were followers and supporters when I knew the party. I know the gray-haired Ba'thists who, like me, are in their fifties, especially those who were in Baghdad and who attended regional conferences. But how could I know somebody in the party who is 28 years old, unless I am his superior? I am not, of course, in the organizational action.

Comrade Leader Saddam Husayn: What we have accomplished is good. We must embark on the details. Generally, I find that we should form the following committees:

- A committee to study controls on freedom of the press and the publication law.
- A committee to study the constitution and draft a new constitution.
- A committee to study the parties law, the formation of parties, and the required controls.

- A committee to study preparation for the next elections (already formed).

Do you have any addition or any objection to the committees' names?

Then, committee Number 1 shall be formed of (...) We will postpone the other committees till next time. You have the freedom to form them from within or from outside the command. Involve the minister of justice, the minister of higher education, the Appellate Court president, and...

ISRAEL

Glasnost-Era Middle East Arms Race Examined

90OL0251A Tel Aviv *BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR*
in Hebrew Dec 89 p 17, 116

[Article by 'Anar Gubrin: "Fewer Soviet Weapons for the Arab States"]

[Text] Is there a connection between the new policy in the Soviet Union and the military balance in the Middle East?

Three researchers from the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Tel Aviv have tried to come up with an answer.

Shmu'el Me'ir has almost total confidence in Gorbachev's new policy and is the most optimistic of the researchers. His opinions are very controversial and, apparently, are not representative of the majority of the researchers.

Me'ir claims that since Gorbachev's rise to power in 1985 Moscow has been applying a new policy in accelerated fashion to everything having to do with burning regional conflicts throughout the world. He has reduced its involvement and retreated from the conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola-Namibia, and Cambodia-Vietnam. The new thinking is also expressed, in his opinion, in the lessening of foreign aid to client states and in a sharp drop in the scope of Soviet weapons exports to the third world.

"Perestroyka is intended to rebuild the Soviet economy," says Me'ir, "so that the USSR will not become an India, not turn into a backward country. The Soviets understood that it is impossible to wave the flag of military expansion together with the flag of military budget cuts. The USSR, which embraced the whole world in the 70's, has decided to cut back, and we are witness to this phenomenon throughout the world. It is my claim that it is impossible for the Middle East to be a stepchild, for the reduction and noninvolvement to occur everywhere in the world except here."

Me'ir cites what was said to the President of Syria when a toast was raised in his honor at a visit that Moscow held in 1987. Al-Asad was told on that occasion that the rate and extent of past expansion could not continue.

According to reports in the Arab papers, says Me'ir, the Soviets repeated their message of stinginess to the Syrian defense minister when he presented them in 1988 with the new Syrian acquisition lists. And as a reminder, adds Me'ir, the Soviet representative repeated comments—at an international congress in Cairo in early 1989—about the limited usefulness of billions of dollars worth of weapons systems that Moscow had previously shipped to the Middle East.

Nevertheless Me'ir suspects that Soviet weapons supplies will continue as long as Syria is Moscow's most important strategic stronghold in the Middle East basin, but, he says, "the supply will not be of the same rate and scope as in the pre-Gorbachev era."

Researcher Dani Leshem does not believe that we are on the threshold of a revolution in Russian involvement in the Middle East. In his opinion the Soviets are concerned about their clients just like the Americans, the British, or the French. He agrees that the main consideration of the Soviets is economic, which is why the unlimited credit previously given to Syria will, from now on, be more controlled. But, in his opinion, even if there has been somewhat of a change, which is by no means certain, the change stems first and foremost from economic considerations and only afterward, if at all, from political considerations and from "the new policy."

It is a fact, claims Leshem, that despite world protests and despite the fact that the USSR knew it was a very unpopular step, she still supplied Sukhoi-24's to Libya. Syria will get the Sukhoi-24 after Libya and Iraq, not because the USSR wants to reduce her involvement in the Middle East, but because the Syrians don't have the money to pay for them.

The researcher does not totally deny the possibility that political considerations had something to do with it, since the USSR was aiming to reduce the level of confrontation at a time when she is interested in coordinating positions with the United States. But it is a long way from that to saying that there has been a significant slowdown in Soviet weapons supplies.

In Leshem's opinion the Soviets are trying to maintain a profile that would serve them in every way: "I am not saying the Soviets are birds of prey, but they certainly aren't innocent lambs. They do everything in a cold and calculating way."

Numbers Talk

The fulcrum in this debate is undoubtedly the numerical data. Me'ir claims the numbers speak for themselves and prove his basic assumption.

"I have done something that no one before me has done," he explains. "It may be that because no one has yet really stacked the data up side by side, the researchers have not concluded that we are faced with significant change.

"I compared the picture of Syrian strength in 1989 to that of 1985, when Gorbachev came to power. According to the Center for Strategic Studies' data, the Syrian Army in 1985 counted five armored divisions, three mechanized divisions and a special forces division. Today it has six armored divisions, three mechanized divisions and one special forces division. At the most, then, one armored division has been added. But even there the picture is not so clear when we note that manpower in the regular Syrian ground forces has been reduced from 396,000 soldiers in 1985 to about 306,000 today and that in 1984 as in 1985 the number of tanks held at 4,100, of which only a thousand are the advanced T-72's.

"In 1989 as in 1985, three-fourths of all the tanks are obsolete models. According to the report of the Strategic Institute in London, 1,100 Syrian tanks today are in storage or in static positions.

"The number of artillery barrels has also held during the surveyed period at 2,300. The process of bringing advanced mobile guns into service is slow, and most of them are still of the towed variety. There has occurred somewhat of an increase in the number of APC's when 300 quality BMP's were added.

"In the area of ground-to-ground missiles there has been no change in the number of Scud missiles (with a range of 280 km), for which there were 18 launchers in 1985. There has been somewhat of an increase in the number of SS-21's (with a range of 80 km), where the number of launchers has gone up from 12 to 18.

"In the offensive aerial arena, in my opinion, it is also hard to find a significant trend toward increase. In 1985 the Syrians had 650 fighter planes, the same number as today. The significant increase is in the addition of advanced MIG-29 interceptors, but it must be remembered that we are talking of just 20 planes of this model that were added to 45 quality MIG-25's with the aim of defending Syrian skies. Most of the warplanes in Syria are of obsolete vintage. Even if Sukhoi-24's are supplied to Syria, the quantity will be small."

The deal between Libya and the USSR, in the framework of which the USSR sold Sukhoi-24's to Libya, is hard for Me'ir to explain. But he stresses the fact that it is a matter of just 15 planes; i.e., a relatively small quantity for the regular deals of this sort.

Even the establishment of a Soviet base in Tartus, he does not see as Soviet expansion. Tartus is a submarine base that the Soviets need because of the reduction of ground forces in Europe, which has increased the importance of the sea platform. Tartus was intended to track Western military activity in the area and not to expand Soviet power.

"In the final analysis," the researcher admits, "the USSR wants to guard her interests in the Middle East and her position as a superpower. The base and the few planes supplied to Libya and Syria are a response to the West in the Middle East."

Me'ir thus presents impressive numerical data to support his position. The bottom line is clear: Since Gorbachev's rise to power there has been only an insignificant increase in the Syrian order of battle, because the USSR changed its policy.

Dani Leshem disagrees with this presentation of the data. In his opinion the picture that Me'ir presents does not necessarily point to a new Soviet policy. Not all the components can be evaluated, he says.

First of all it is not at all certain that over the years Syria really absorbed so few T-72 tanks! It may be that the USSR supplied them but that it never came to the attention of the media in the West. Second, even if there is a decline, it might be explainable other than in terms of a new policy.

Somewhat of a Change

After the Lebanon war it was necessary to strengthen the Syrian Army with larger purchases than in quiet years. The Gorbachev years were quiet years in the Middle East—hence the slowdown in arms acquisition. Apart from that, adds Leshem, there are always ups and downs in arms supplies to various areas of the world. There are periods in which there was an increase because of local wars that broke out and were at their height. That is, it isn't exactly a change in the approach of the USSR, but that the consumers need more weapons and there is greater demand from the manufacturers.

That and more. Leshem claims that Me'ir's data are incomplete. For example, they don't include Soviet aid for local manufacture of weapons systems. In the past, aid for local manufacture was not a salient aspect of Soviet aid to Arab countries. In recent years there has been an increase in this area, an increase that is expressed in the data on the balance of power.

Thus, for example, in Baghdad pictures are published in the papers of T-72 tanks of Iraqi manufacture or of components, retrofits, and improvements of T-55 tanks, in which T-72 125mm guns were installed, also of Iraqi manufacture. There is no doubt that these improvements were done with Soviet technological assistance.

Even the development of the aerial warning plane 'Adnan-1 or the Bahgdad-1, developed from the Soviet Ram-76 was done, apparently, with massive aid from the Soviets. The Iraqis, says Leshem, boast that they did it all themselves, but it is clear that the Soviets, as manufacturers of the plane, supported them and it is clear that they were involved in retrofitting and adapting the plane to the needs of Iraq's wars.

As to finished systems, Leshem agrees with Me'ir that there has been an overall decline. Nevertheless, he notes that in some places there has been an increase, for example, in Iran. There the Soviets are significantly increasing their weapons sales to Iran to get the Iranians to be more accommodating in Afghanistan.

"You have to look at the overall picture," Leshem explains, "and not make item-for-item comparisons of systems. When dealing with weapons supplies, there are two sides: the country that supplies and manufactures and the country that purchases the weapon. If a change has occurred, it is not necessarily the result of a new policy on the part of the selling country. Maybe the Iraqis or the Syrians in the past sought a hundred planes of a certain type while today, because of economic problems, they only ask for 20. You might attribute it to a new policy by Gorbachev—or to a policy for that year, which had many causes. These things are very complicated, and over a short haul of just a few years it is hard to derive conclusions about overall change in policy."

Researcher Mark Heller claims that behind the debate between those who claim that Soviet armament policy in the Middle East has changed and those who claim it has not, is a broader disagreement in the West over the reliability of perestroyka. "There are still gaps between the rhetoric of perestroyka and its application in practice," he says, "and that is one of the greatest unknowns, for which there are several attempted explanations in the West. One approach claims that the delay is in time; i.e., more time is needed for practice to catch up with ideology. Another school believes that, as in many countries in the world, the USSR does not have a unified political system. Within the country there are institutional interests that do not jibe 100 percent with the declared line of the political leadership. It is unclear who is in opposition—the military, the KGB, or the bureaucracy. A third school claims that 'It's all a big bluff,' and that the change is only superficial. I don't agree with this last school, since I do, nevertheless, see change."

Still, on the issue of Soviet armament in the Middle East, Heller does not yet see significant change. In the past, too, he claims, there was no unified rhythm for supplying arms—and even if there is change, it should not be attributed to a new policy.

An Unspoken Policy

Dr. Heller avers that Soviet policy today declares what had previously been unspoken. The USSR is prepared to meet defense needs as the Soviets define them, but she is not prepared to accelerate a process that could result in people losing their senses. The Soviet defense minister declared during his visit to Damascus that the USSR is not prepared to help Syria achieve strategic parity because that would allow her to use the offensive option. But the defense minister added that the USSR would meet Syria's defensive needs.

There is no doubt, says Heller, that on the declared level there has been change. In the past the Soviets did not express it this way. But, in fact, they behave in accordance with the same policy as they always have. There were always weapons systems that the Soviets refused to supply because they understood that those systems would undermine stability in the area.

A striking example is the long-range (in Middle East terms) SS-23 ballistic missiles. The Syrians have been asking for them for years, and the Soviets refuse. That is also the case with regard to older SS-12 intermediate-range missiles, which to this day have not been given to Syria. And these examples are from the days of the Brezhnev regime, which was considered very tough. The same is true of advanced planes. The Syrians have always pressed, and the Soviets have always delayed. In the end, when the item was no longer revolutionary, they agreed to supply it.

"The contrast between Gorbachev's rhetoric," Dr. Heller sums up, "and that of previous regimes is greater than the contrast between the behavior of the Gorbachev regime and that of, let's say, the Brezhnev regime."

Is it worthwhile for Israel to renew her relations with the USSR from the point of view of the Israeli-Arab controversy?

Yes, says Dr. Heller, explaining: "One of the main things that has caused the Arabs to moderate their political stance is simply the recognition that they cannot achieve their traditional goal—the destruction of the State of Israel. The more an external power like the USSR supports a less compromising stance in which it will not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel, the less inclination the Arabs will have to abandon that stance. There is no doubt that if the USSR, for whatever reasons, situates herself not at one extreme but somewhere in the middle, that will oblige the Arabs to take a more compromising approach."

Air Force Leadership Looks to 1990's

GOC IAF Gen Avihu Ben-Nun Interview
44000215 Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR
in Hebrew Dec 89 pp 119-118

[English translation of Hebrew article; interview with GOC IAF General Avihu Ben-Nun by Aharon Lapidot: "The End of the Superpower Era"]

[Text] The following scenario for developments over the next decade is not entirely imaginary: Increasing co-operation between the superpowers and the general atmosphere of world friendliness, develop into a situation in which US commitments to the USSR outweigh US commitments to Israel. The superpowers no longer provide automatic backing to their traditional Middle Eastern allies. Likewise, the escalating pace of Arab armament means that their dependence on the superpowers is steadily waning—they can act on their own even without Soviet backing. An Arab coalition is formed; Syria succeeds in launching a surprise attack; a cease-fire is steamrolled through, and Israel is compelled into subjection.

Gen. Avihu Ben-Nun, IAF [Israel Air Force] Commander, does not like this scenario. But he has reluctantly to admit that under present conditions it is indeed

a possibility. The great changes taking place now at the end of 1989 mark the turning of a page of world history, leaving one with the sense that the 90's will see several new starts.

From a military perspective, the balance of power is certainly changing. The major alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—are weakening and will continue to do so even if they do not disappear entirely. The rapid series of changes in the Communist bloc countries have already led the US to cut its defense budget by several billion dollars. The possible re-unification of Germany means, apart from the emotional overtones, that the 12 European Community countries, already close to unification, will have to take into account a Central European giant of 80 million people with a GNP [gross national product] the size of the UK and France combined. With the center of gravity shifting so drastically, the Middle East may easily find itself on the periphery of world interest. The question is whether that is good or bad.

"Both good and bad," answers Gen. Ben-Nun. "Good, because the attention focused upon the Middle East of late has been completely out of proportion. Bad, because once we are out of the limelight international support for us will diminish. One of the side effects of Glasnost is that the USSR now makes its most sophisticated technology freely available. Syria and Iraq have been buying. It is thus essential to bolster the IAF over the next decade, and the sooner we start, the better."

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] What will the battle line-up look like in the next decade?

[Ben-Nun] In all likelihood we shall continue to see today's platforms. We shall continue to procure sophisticated craft similar to the ones we already use, with only slight modifications, as these craft have already reached their maximal aerodynamic level of performance. Of course we shall continue to follow developments in aircraft design world-wide. I estimate that sometime during the course of the decade we shall procure the ATF and ATA, which are today nearing their maiden flight stage. The real developments, however, will be in the aircraft systems: avionics, weapons systems, night-flight systems, and systems integration, both in the air and on the ground, manned and unmanned.

In terms of helicopters we will indeed see improvements in the platforms themselves over the next ten years. The Apache will enter IAF service next year; the Black Hawk will follow. Intensive systems work will be done on the Cobra and the Sikorsky CH-53. AA system will also see extensive improvements ranging from detection devices, to long-range missiles, short-range AA guns and shoulder-launched rockets. This work is already underway, and will continue over the entire decade.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] What about the IAF flight-training program? Several planes have been evaluated as replacements for those currently in use.

[Ben-Nun] Our considerations are purely economic. In fact, we don't really have to replace anything, as the Piper, the upgraded Fuga and the Skyhawk are all perfectly adequate, enabling us to turn out first-rate pilots. Moreover, the curriculum is being reorganized so that the preliminary level now does things formerly not even done in the second level—using the same planes of course. The upshot is that cadets will have more time in the air. No, our motives are financial. The new generation of training planes are cheaper to maintain and cost less per flight-hour. One can, for example, get excellent results on the preliminary level from a turbo-prop plane instead of a jet. In any case, no final decision will be taken before we become convinced that we are getting something better that will genuinely save us money. Don't forget that in the natural course of time we shall have to invest money in our training planes anyway.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] Will the resultant pilot be different from current pilots?

[Ben-Nun] No. Even the planes now on the drawing boards do not make fundamentally different demands on the pilot from the planes already in the air today. This is in marked contrast to the differences between the planes of the seventies and those of the eighties. The jump came with the introduction of the F-15 and F-16 into IAF service, requiring as it did vastly improved piloting skills under physical conditions of increased difficulty. By 1997 or 1998 I can see us flying the ATF: until then we will still be flying today's familiar planes. Even if we introduce the F-18 the jump will not be nearly so great as the one already made in the present decade.

The IAF maintains a higher proportion of advanced planes in its fighting lines than almost any other air force. We also believe in our own "mix" of planes. We shall continue to fly the Skyhawk, for example, throughout the coming decade. There are many missions that it can handle every bit as well as an F-16.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] You mentioned threats. Against what sort of air forces are we measuring ourselves?

[Ben-Nun] It's not difficult to foresee general developments in the Arab air forces. The new Soviet policy is to sell even the most up-to-date technology—so long as they receive money for it. In the past they didn't usually put their most sophisticated systems on the open market. This means, of course, that we will be facing state-of-the-art Soviet arms: today Mig-29s and Suchoi-24s, tomorrow Suchoi-27s, SA-10 surface-to-air missiles, and Patriots in those countries receiving Western armaments. Likewise, Mi-8 and Apache helicopters, and more and better SSM systems.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] How then will we respond to the narrowing—even closing—of this technological gap?

[Ben-Nun] We have learned anew in every decade that with every technological advance, our edge increases. So

long as we have the proper tools, I am not worried about our ability to provide an adequate response to these threats. The blanket is too short. It will always be too short. But somehow or other we've got to cover all the corners with it.

In terms of quality the gap is widening in our favor. As the enemy begins to use sophisticated systems he becomes vulnerable in new places. Such systems foster dependence. If you are sophisticated enough to know the weak points of these automatic systems, they are easier to play havoc with than the old manual systems. The sophisticated jets also have their "holes," forcing the pilots into greater dependence on the systems. If you know how, you can exploit this.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] Has the IAF been thinking about space?

[Ben-Nun] Space is part of the air from which and through which pass weapons of war.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] Will Glasnost have any impact on our part of the world?

[Ben-Nun] Yes. It won't, of course, make the Arab countries stop wanting to get rid of us, but it will make them change their tactics. In the past they received automatic backing from the USSR; today that backing is conditional. This shift cannot be ignored.

The obverse side of this development is that Arab dependence on the Soviet Union is weakening. We view this with apprehension, as a powerful, independently-acting Arab state or coalition could pose a severe danger to us. We too are in the same boat. We can no longer automatically depend on American aid. Despite the standard oversimplifications one is accustomed to hear, the Middle East conflict is not really between East and West: the effects of Glasnost will be felt, not directly, but obliquely, filtered through the local conditions.

One thing remains for me to add: I cannot forget our comrade Ron Arad, held prisoner by terrorists for three years now. We receive no direct information about him and he must be very alone. We hope he is well, but we are both anxious and apprehensive; I very much fear that the process of bringing him back home will be a long one.

Four IAF Perspectives

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[English translation of Hebrew article by Dror Marom: "Beyond 1990—Four IAF Perspectives"]

[Text]

Brig. Gen. A., Air Wing Chief:

"The nineties will be marked by an all-encompassing series of upgrading and improvement programs, in terms of both platforms and systems. In short, everything we

have is being readied for the 21st century, where we expect our enemies to have equal or equivalent means at this disposal.

"Newer F-16Cs and F-16Ds will gradually be taking the place of the older types, and the state-of-the-art Apache chopper will soon be entering IAF [Israel Air Force] service. Existing IAF aircraft will, of course, continue to fly, although with improved avionics, radar and weapons systems: the Phantom-2000 and the Sikorsky CH-53 upgrading programs are just two that may be mentioned. The F-15 too will undergo a wide range of adjustments and alterations.

"In general, the lion's share of our attention will be paid to technological improvements. In the case of combat helicopters, however, the nineties will mark a true leap forward. Combat choppers will play an ever-increasing role in IAF operations, the Apache in particular being capable of missions formerly the province of warplanes exclusively. All the classic aerial missions—holding off an enemy advance, striking deep in the enemy rear, air supremacy missions—will come to be done more and more by choppers."

Brig. Gen. Y., IAF Intelligence Chief:

"Looking into the future from the perspective of air force intelligence means assessing threats in terms of several variables, such as potential strength, motivation, resource limitations and the potentiality of the threat being realized. There is no question that Syria is the single greatest threat we face, both in terms of motivations and of the ability to make good its threats: i.e., sheer military power. Syria represents a combination of all the factors that may indeed lead to war."

"After Syria we face Iraq on the one hand and Libya on the other. Iraq, strengthened after the long Gulf War, is a major power whose air force exceeds even that of Syria. It has, however, less motivation for war with us than Syria. Libya's motivations are, if anything, even more dangerous than Syria's, but it is further away from us and thus less of an immediate danger. A coalition against us is a particularly ominous prospect, as additional states, such as Jordan and Saudi Arabia—not usually warlike—may find themselves dragged into the conflict."

"The increasing quality of Arab arms is a growing problem we will have to deal with in the 90's. The extensive buffering of the surface-to-air missile system with extremely sophisticated missiles of all sizes and ranges is a real threat, as are the new jets in Arab hands—such as the Mig-23 MLD and the Mig-29, which for the first time are just as advanced as the planes we are flying. The recent defection of a Syrian pilot with his Mig is thus a real windfall: we have the unprecedented opportunity to study systems never before seen by Western eyes."

"In reviewing the danger, the motives and the weapons, it's clear that our only true advantage lies in the excellence of our soldiers—particularly our pilots. It's quality over quantity every time."

Brig. Gen. G., Air Force Chief-of-Staff:

"I do not foresee any drastic changes in the structure or character of the IAF in the next ten years. As in any big organization the changes will be small and cumulative, not large and sudden. The aircraft situation is a good example. We will continue procuring first-line fighter planes, while making changes in our mix of older and newer planes. The older planes will all be rejuvenated, including the F-15, the mainstay of our advanced striking force, which is no longer in its first youth."

"The weapons systems borne by these upgraded planes will, however, belong entirely to the new era, an example being the use of electro-magnetic missiles within the framework of new concepts of electronic warfare and defense. New tactical concepts will also govern our increased use of combat helicopters across a wide variety of operational situations. Another new system of importance is a new concept of electronic reconnaissance, allowing us to analyse combat situations—and thus be ready to act—in a fraction of the time formerly required."

"A major problem, as always, is budget. We feel that, in view of the primacy of the IAF as the decisive wing of Israel's defense, in view of the growing number of vital tasks we are asked to perform and the high cost of the necessary equipment, our piece of the IDF budget is less than sufficient."

Brig. Gen. Uri Ram, AA Chief:

"Our cannons, for the most part, point northwards; it is against the Syrian air force that the majority of our efforts are directed. Four developments there demand our attention: their improved ability to penetrate into our airspace at very low altitudes, their increasing use of anti-tank attack helicopters, their deployment of long- and medium-range surface-to-surface missiles, and, finally, their increasing proficiency in night combat."

"Our response will include improving our current equipment—installing a system to decrease the vulnerability of Hawk missiles to electronic warfare, to cite just one example, as well as procuring new weaponry. In particular, we are seriously considering the Patriot system, which is capable both of acting against aircraft, and of stopping missiles in mid-air."

"Simulators will play an increasing role in our training programs. They are far cheaper and give better results than any other method of training. Now that both sides have equally sophisticated equipment, and our budget for building or buying new things is severely limited, the importance of our human resources becomes even more critical than ever before: we have been devoting much thought to improved training methods. The general tendency of the times is to devise ways of eliciting superior performance with minimal expenditures of money. I might add that in view of the relatively lower cost of AA equipment in comparison to aircraft, it is a reasonable prediction that the nineties will see the AA forces playing an increased role in our air defense."

Expulsion of Settlers Analyzed

90OL0247B 'Ofra NEQUDA
in Hebrew Nov 89 pp 62-63

[Article by Michael Ben-Horin: "What Applied to the Sinai Does Not Apply to Judaea and Samaria"]

[Text] The affair of the evacuation of Yamit and its satellites continues to cause us, the faithful of Eretz-Yisra'el, a prolonged shudder. We, who were witnesses to the expulsion of Jews and the destruction of their settlements, find it difficult to free ourselves of the nightmare that the atrocity will be repeated in Judaea and Samaria, as well. And not only that, but we frequently argue among ourselves about how we will behave when the fateful day comes: Will we or will we not fight with the soldiers, will we take up arms or will we reconcile ourselves to the government decision—and more and more such issues from the conceptual world of Yamit of blessed memory, issues that also stand somewhere in the background of the renewed controversy within Gush Emunim and the new dovish society that was born in the seminary of "Ma'aleh," the center for religious Zionism—namely, the NRP [National Religious Party] under a more attractive banner, whose directors are settlers in Judaea and Samaria.

What many do not understand is that there is no connection whatsoever between these two affairs, and, in any event, there is no point in wasting energy on ideological sparring that stems from the assumption that the threat of the evacuation of the settlements in Judaea and Samaria is indeed imminent. Thus, for example, Rabbis Yo'el Ben-Nun and Yitzhak Shilat, who belong to the abovementioned group, call for political flexibility on the part of the settlers only because they foresee a bitter end for the settlement project and are trying, as it were, to save what little can be saved. I will try to show below that the nightmare vision of the evacuation is without foundation and to explain why what applied to the Sinai does not apply to Judaea and Samaria:

A. The peace euphoria of 1979 took on virtually messianic proportions. Whoever opened up a newspaper in those far-off days was amazed by the many hopes that were placed on peace with Egypt: Immigration would increase, emigration would cease, the Army would be cut, and the economy would flourish. How can we forget how much they proclaimed to us then "nation shall not lift up sword against nation" and the like? Menahem Begin recited on the White House lawn, in messianic tones, the psalm: "A Song of Ascents. When the Lord brought back the captive ones of Zion, we were like those who dream." No less. I will never forget how, when Sadat visited Be'er Sheva, thousands of persons stormed the bus that carried Egyptian journalists and kissed its wheels (in the manner of "I will be fortunate to sit in the shadow of the dung of the Messiah's donkey....")

The people were ready for the settlers in the Sinai to pay the full price for such a peace. But today, given the chilly relations with Egypt and the general maturation of the people, the peace euphoria of 1979 is an historic episode.

Peace is already not such a sought-after commodity. In any event, the price that the people are willing to pay for it is much smaller. Even Yitzhaq Rabin conditions his enthusiastic support of a settlement with the Palestinians with statements against a general withdrawal from Judaea and Samaria, as is demanded by the extreme left.

B. The peace with Egypt was seen at the time as a real thing. The Egyptians got all of Sinai and relinquished their territorial claims on Israel. Moreover, it was clear to Begin that after Egypt would come the rest of the Arab states, and in that way the Middle East conflict would come to a general conclusion. Today, in contrast, it is clear to every first-grader that even if a Palestinian state arises in Judaea and Samaria, there will not be an end to the overall refugee problem. There will always remain Palestinians who will yearn to return to Yaffo and 'Akko and will threaten us. The establishment of a Palestinian state will certainly not end the demographic threat. In short, nonhawks also will find it difficult to pay for such a shaky peace with the evacuation of the heart of the country. Look at the many polls that are being published recently and which show that the majority of the public takes exception, if only from direct talks with PLO members.

C. The first Likud government had a good grip on the reins of power during the period when the peace treaty with Egypt was devised. The public relied on it. Menahem Begin, after dozens of years in opposition, was accorded unlimited credit as a leader without blemish, who was devoted wholly to the welfare of the people of Israel. The masses lost their ability to criticize him, and followed him like sheep into the abyss.

In contrast, the Shamir government is a tired, sclerotic government, lacking courage and initiative. Shamir's personality does not inspire trust and certainly does not sweep the masses along. Whoever is incapable of firing Yosi Baylin, certainly will not be capable of deciding on the expulsion of Jews from Judaea and Samaria.

D. The people of Israel had no historical connection with Yamit. The Yamit region is the southern portion of the Philistine coast and is not inscribed in our national heritage, while the regions of Judaea and Samaria are the cradle of our historic, national, and religious heritage: the Temple Mount, Hebron, Nablus, Bethlehem, Bethel, Shiloh, Nov, Giv'on, and so on and so forth. All of our national experience is focused on sites in Judaea and Samaria. From the viewpoint of historical truth, the State of Israel should have arisen in Judaea and Samaria, and not in the valleys and on the coastal plain. In short, there is no doubt that it will be more difficult to cut off our people from the heart of their country than it was in the previous decade to be cut off from one of its parts.

E. The people who lived in Yamit were from the school of the Alignment, people who had not prepared themselves for any public struggle. In the demonstrations in front of the Knesset in the days of Camp David, the number of demonstrators from Judaea and Samaria and the Golan was far higher than those from Sinai. The

efforts of the movement to stop the withdrawal to include the residents of the region in the struggle against the evacuation were repeatedly fruitless. In contrast, the settlers of Judaea and Samaria are imbued with the feeling of the necessity to struggle and are even willing to pay for it. The proof lies in their amazing determination that is being demonstrated these very days, the days of the Arab uprising. Not only has the settlement project in the region not dwindled, but it has even become stronger.

F. The Jewish population in the Sinai was much less than 10,000, and it was scattered over hundreds of kilometers, while in Judaea and Samaria there are 80,000 settlers, may their numbers increase. It will be difficult to remove them for two reasons: 1. The size of the population strengthens the consciousness of their own strength in every individual. 2. It makes difficult an economic solution to the problem, i.e. the Sinai compensation payments. From whence will the money and the place come to resettle them?

In conclusion: All the aforementioned reasons come together as one block, which proves that the fate of Judaea and Samaria will not be the same as that of Sinai. In the next three years there will not be a cabinet decision on leaving Judaea and Samaria, and certainly not on their destruction. Therefore, the purely apologetic involvement in the hypothetical question, "And what will you do when the government decides to expel you as from Yamit?" is not relevant and has merely a controversial-provocative significance. It can only cause a seeming polarization between us and the people. In my opinion, no attention must be paid to it.

Understandably, nothing is ensured from heaven. Slogans such as "there will be no withdrawal" or "Shamir will not surrender" obscure the need to struggle and even create of themselves the momentum for retreat and concessions. It is reasonable to assume that in the next three years the tendency of the Alignment to wither the settlement in Judaea and Samaria will become stronger, through the Ministry of Finance, and it will be more difficult for us from the security viewpoint. The struggle in the arena of Judaea and Samaria will have a popular character—between the Jewish people and the Palestinian people. The Government of Israel, being limited by propaganda and legal systems that it created itself, will be forced into the position of a neutral observer between the two opponents, which will increase the alienation between us and it. In this manner, we will have to become accustomed to being more independent in our thinking and our lives. He who knows how to summon up greater spiritual resources from within himself—will be victorious.

Information Center Established in Hebron

90OL0247C 'Ofra NEQUADA
in Hebrew Nov 89 pp 18-21

[Article by Me'ir Rabinovitz]

[Text] Like a lot of big stories, this one also began with a dream. But, unlike many nice dreams, this dream was

made up of many stones, incendiary bottles, burning tires, and other such unpleasantness, the foul harvest of the intifadah. The dream is that of Aharon Domb, known to everyone as "Dumpa."

Dumpa is only 33 years old, but he has to his credit wide-ranging activity for the benefit of the Jewish settlement in Hebron. He knew that "someone crazy about the thing" was needed to assemble all the reports about attacks on civilians and against the Army, in order to inform everyone and to balance the picture in the media, "which must not be abandoned to the leftists and the Arabs." Until he got up and did the thing, he participated in dozens of meetings of the Council of Judaea and Samaria and Gush Emunim, and found that "they only talk there."

Without anybody behind him except for the "Shavay Hebron" Yeshiva, of which he, by chance, is the director, Dumpa raised about \$30,000 from individuals and from various institutions, and began to move ahead. On 3 April 1989, the Information Center was founded. Domb held information meetings for all the residents of the region, explaining to them the importance of the subject, and the thing began to pick up speed. At the same time, the boundaries of the sector for which the center is responsible were determined—Halhul in the north, Ma'ale Hever in the east, 'Idna and Hotze Yehuda in the west, and Daha-riya and 'Utni'el in the south. In the beginning, Dumpa encountered indifference on the part of the settlers, "who had already become accustomed to the less serious attacks, and whoever didn't have to run to the Property Tax office on account of the damages, didn't report them." However, after a short time, the victims began to report to the center, and Dumpa himself was surprised "by the tremendous cooperation" of the residents. Nevertheless, the security coordinator of the Council of Judaea and Samaria, Yosi Kolar (see a separate article in this issue), estimates that "despite everything, about 25 percent of the incidents in which civilians are attacked are still not reported." [closing quotes supplied]

All the reports are passed on to central points: to Beit Romano, where Dumpa sits as the director of the "Shavay Hebron" Yeshiva, to the Qiryat Arba' war room by radio, or by telephone to the person on duty at the Information Center. In order to ensure that the reporting will be completely reliable, a very important point for Dumpa, the fullest details must be recorded at the Center—the date, the exact time, the place, the kind of event, the name of the reporter, and the like. After they have been verified, the reports are entered on a computer by means of special software that processes them. In the morning, a print-out is generated which assembles all the reports of the previous day, and at the end of each month, a monthly summary is generated, with an index according to the location of the incident. In the report that the Center issued to sum up its first four months of activity, April-July '89, it can be seen that 2,222 Jews were attacked with stones, iron ingots, or incendiary bottles; one man was killed, one was seriously injured, 11 received moderately serious injuries, and 36 persons were lightly injured. The report for August shows that

there is an increase in the number of attacks and their severity. For example, in contrast to five incendiary bottles that were thrown in July, 12 were thrown in August. Reports and tables do not suffice for Domb. He also plots graphs in order to show the increases and decreases in hostile activity—almost a scientific report.

Aharon Domb's passionate mind never ceases to bring up ideas for illustrating the situation with pictures and colors. He pulls out an album of pictures that shows broken cars and persons with head injuries that were the result of blocks that were thrown at them. The album is simple, and not all of the pictures are of good quality, but every cabinet minister received such an album, "and it was put on the agenda at one of the cabinet meetings." Members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee also received such an album when they toured in Hebron and in the Center itself, in Beit Romano. Another "trick," as Dumpa himself terms it, is a suitcase containing different articles wrapped in plastic with a tag explaining where the article was thrown and what damage it caused—stronger and much more impressive than the Center's computerized information sheets. The next trick that is planned is the preparation of a video movie about what happens when people leave the mosques on Fridays—a movie that will be shown at one of the cabinet meetings, Dumpa hopes.

Tzvi Katzover, the deputy head of the Qiryat Arba' local council, praises the Center and its activities, but his relations with Dumpa aren't that good. Brigadier General (Retired) Yosi Kolar, who is the security coordinator of the Judaea and Samaria council, tells about the attempts to establish similar information centers in the other regions of Judaea and Samaria. "The councils sent us very limited information, and with irregular frequency. One council refused completely to deal with the subject. We tried to push the thing for a month, but without success," Kolar says sadly. In view of this, Dumpa's solo project must doubtless be highly appreciated.

Dumpa disseminates the information to three main elements—the politicians, the Army, and the media. "When there is talk in the cabinet about a decrease in the scope of violent activity, it makes me laugh," says Dumpa, so he passes the report to all the cabinet ministers and Knesset members—especially on the right, of course. "So that the subject stay on the agenda, and as a counterweight to, for example, the report which is issued by the organization 'In the Image' for the benefit of the Knesset members from the left." The cabinet ministers who are very supportive of the Information Center are, according to Dumpa, Avner Shaki, Ariel Sharon, and...Motta Gur (maybe, in spite of everything, he has a place in the "mainstream").

The second element that receives the reports daily is the Army—from the level of the Judaea and Samaria Command to the Coordinator of Activities. Mitzna', at the time, told Dumpa that "a stone in Hebron is worth 15 stones in Rafiah," mainly because of the uniqueness of

the Jewish settlement in the heart of Hebron. It differs from an ordinary settlement, in that the road to it is indeed difficult, but within it there are no security problems. Dumpa once told Mitzna' that "he is broadcasting to the political level, and also to his subordinates, that it is impossible to liquidate the intifadah by military means, and that he does not always transmit all the reports about what goes on in the field to the decision-makers."

It is possible to learn about the appreciation for the activities of the Information Center from a letter from the commander of a paratroop battalion who completed his service in the region—"my officers and I are full of admiration for your sacrifices and the settlement project within Hebron, because of which it is easier to serve here, because of the Jewish place that radiates light and warmth." The battalion commander did not limit himself to warm words and also attached a donation.

The computer reports show that relation between the attacks on the Army and the attacks on civilians is 60 percent Army versus 40 percent civilians. The hard conclusion is—the Army is losing its ability to deter.

The third factor that receives the Information Center's reports is, of course, the media. "The subject of the media must not be left to the left and the Arabs. In my opinion, the Council of Judaea and Samaria and Gush Emunim are neglecting the subject of information activity in the media, and it's a shame." Dumpa sends daily fax reports to the journalists who cover the field. From conversations with two senior journalists for Judaea and Samaria affairs—Avino'am Bar-Yosef of MA'ARIV and another journalist (who asked that his name not be mentioned, and who agrees with Avino'am)—it appears that the Information Center is indeed very valuable "because it is another source of important information and, as far as I have seen, at least until today, it is also credible." The former general manager of the Government Press Office, Yoram Ettinger, who once visited the region, "popped over for a brief visit and stayed four hours and was very enthusiastic. Since then, the Press Office has been sending lots of foreign camera teams. The situation got to the point that I've had to increase my meetings with them because I can't keep up with the tremendous demand from the foreign networks to cover the activities of the Center." Domb is very satisfied by the media coverage. "I have good relations with all the journalists. Not long ago, Dani Rubinstein slept over here, and afterwards he wrote a wonderful piece about me." Many journalists contact him in order to confirm and verify reports that come from various sources. "For example, they try to confirm the reports of the Kakh [Me'ir Kahana's Party] Committee for Secure Movement on the Roads, which always exaggerates things." Dumpa does not hide his negative attitude in every respect towards them.

The Information Center also has an intelligence department. This body collects leaflets that are disseminated among the Arab population by various elements and

translates them. One example: "We will intensify the attacks on the bands of settlers, because they are the weak link of the conquest and they are a stumbling block to the establishment of our independent state...." And for whoever has a sharp sense of history and wants to learn things in depth—"Palestine is not the West Bank and the Strip, the coastal valley comes before the land, al-sahil qabl al-dakhil."

Dumpa does not want the intifadah to drop from the national agenda, "even if part of the public and the establishment is sick of it. I, personally, am not bothered by their opinion. I do my work, and believe that it will have an impact, even if only in the long run." And, in a cynical tone, he adds, "I tell people that even if the work is menial and doesn't immediately show results in the field, we are at least preparing the material for the commission of inquiry that will investigate the errors of the intifadah, so that they won't say that they didn't know and that they weren't warned."

Dumpa does not stop dreaming and taking initiatives. He is now working on setting up a professional information team, with serious financing, that will work on image and publicity. "Positive things, like our big construction projects, are not publicized and are not well enough known to the public." In the not too distant future, he plans to establish an international information center in Zurich with the contribution of a local Jew, "who has a lot of money to donate for this. The subject has been agreed upon in principle, but has not yet been acted on. Such an international information center will be able to give positive information about the settlement project in Judaea and Samaria for world public opinion, which is being incited against the settlers." In a paraphrase of Herzl's famous expression, it could be said that "in Hebron, Dumpa founded the Information Center, and in Zurich will arise the international information center and it will disseminate light throughout the world from the Jewish settlement project in Judaea and Samaria."

[Box, p 19] In His Spare Time

Dumpa, 33 years old, was born in Haifa, studied in the secondary school yeshiva in Qiryat Shmu'el, studied afterwards in the military yeshiva in Qiryat Arba', is a graduate of the IDF [Israel Defense Force] tank commanders course, and serves as an operations sergeant in the armored corps. He is the father of five children—"but there will be more," he promises.

In the last two years, as was mentioned, he has served as the director of the Shavay Hebron yeshiva. Previously, he served for two years as assistant to the chairman of the Qiryat Arba' council. He was development coordinator of Qiryat Arba' for two years, and also served as the director of the Fund for the Development of Hebron, and participated in the redemption of various parts of the city of Hebron. His family and the Levinger family were the first families to live in the Avraham Avinu Synagogue and in Tel Rumayda. About Tel Rumayda,

Dumpa relates: "We worked there with Pliya Albeq, of the Ministry of Justice, and we marked off the plots of land. After she wrote a positive legal opinion on the subject, we ran to the minister of defense at the time, Moshe Arens, and got him to sign an approval to bring buildings to Tel Rumayda. The houses went up at just the last moment, on election night in 1984."

In addition, Dumpa has several private businesses, and he is also the general manager of Komemiyut—a center of awareness of Israel and its independence, a body that issues study pamphlets on various holidays, including Independence Day, which are approved by the Ministry of Education. This body issued recently a pamphlet on the war on traffic accidents, under the auspices of The National Council for Preventing Traffic Accidents. "In my spare time, I run the Information Center," says Dumpa. The documents of the Center are scattered all over, and it is very difficult for Dumpa to find them in the general disorder. All in all, the work in the Information Center is moonlighting for Aharon Domb, so it is no wonder that he does not have the time to receive all the foreign news teams that are knocking on the center's door.

[Box, p 21] The Journalists Prefer Dumpa to Itzik (Mordekhay)

The story of the refugees of 'Idna (a village in the south of the Hebron mountains) and the bringing of their situation to the center of attention of the media, shows how Dumpa works and how he exploits the media in the best manner.

On Wednesday, 13 September 89, at 11:20 AM, the Chief of the [Central] Command, Itzik Mordekhay, arrived at the building of the local council in Qiryat Arba'. The Major General was angered by the sight of the dozens of foreign journalists, photographers, and television crews—"Who brought them here?" This anger was also expressed afterwards, throughout the meeting that the major general held with the heads of the settlements from Qiryat Arba' and from Hebron, including, of course, Dumpa. Itzik Mordekhay, who usually does not shrink from microphones and cameras, refused adamantly to allow the photographers to enter the meeting room, even solely to take pictures. At the end of the hour-long meeting, the major general hurried to his car and refused to answer the questions of the many journalists.

So the journalists turned to the unofficial spokesman for the region, Dumpa. He was surrounded by local and foreign journalists and willingly answered their questions. Dumpa is well aware of the value of good press, and he doesn't let them down. He is certainly no novice at public relations.

It is possible to learn about his importance, influence, and credibility from what happened when the major general departed on his way to the next stop on the tour. Dumpa, together with Elyakim Ha'etzni, distributes to the numerous journalists a document that describes what

happened in Kafr 'Idna in the south of the Hebron mountains. According to them, Arabs from the village who had refused to participate in the intifadah suffered from serious violence and unceasing harassment. One of the members of the clan was murdered, and the homes of many others were burned. They were forced to flee from the village, and they went to live in tents and abandoned buildings in the mountains. The residents of Qiryat Arba' gave them clothing, and patrols of the people of the Qiryat passed by occasionally to guard and deter. Duma tried to interest as many photographers and journalists as possible to go and photograph the victims. The media had a dilemma: to join the rest of Major General Mordekhay's tour, or to follow Duma to see the refugees of 'Idna living in the mountains.

Surprisingly, most of the representatives of the media, including the reporter of IDF Radio, the crew of Israel Television, foreign crews, and photographers of all the big evening newspapers, prefer to believe Duma's story and not to pursue the major general. Thus, in a long line of cars, led by Duma, the representatives of the Israeli and foreign media follow the narrow and winding road and finally reach the destination. Duma directs them and organizes the meeting with the Arabs, who at first seem quite frightened, but finally are willing to be interviewed and to be photographed in the open. When the interview begins, Duma leaves the journalists and goes back to his car. He has done his thing. Now he takes a few minutes rest, quite rare moments in his crowded agenda.

And this time, there is a "happy ending": In the evening, they broadcast on the radio and show on "Mabat" [TV news] a long report about the Arabs who fled from 'Idna and who were assisted by the people of Qiryat Arba'. At the end, they give the response of the IDF spokesman, who announces that it has been decided to return these Arabs to 'Idna, and that the IDF has undertaken to guarantee their safety and will establish a permanent presence in the village. "Did you hear the announcement of the IDF spokesman?" Duma asks me with great satisfaction in a telephone conversation that night. Sometimes hard work brings immediate results.

Russian Language Press Experiencing Growth

44000213 Jerusalem *THE JERUSALEM POST*
in English 9 Feb 90 p 11

[Article by Herb Keinon: "Satisfying Their Need for News"]

[Text] Jobs may be scarce and housing hard to afford, but one thing Soviet immigrants won't have to worry about is being stuck here with nothing to read.

The Russian-language press is flourishing in Israel, with seven weeklies, one twice-weekly publication and about a dozen other periodicals published at intervals ranging from once a month to once a year.

With as many as 100,000 Soviet immigrants projected to arrive this year, there is talk of starting a Russian-language

daily. The editors of five of the weeklies say they have heard about a daily paper in the works, and one knowledgeable source says that two major Israeli newspapers are also considering publishing a daily in Russian.

Russian readers probably would not mind if an Israeli newspaper merely translated its stories each day, since this is the type of fare they are accustomed to in the weeklies.

Michael Kalashnikov, editor to the 5,000-circulation FENIKS, estimates that fully half of all the material in the weeklies consists of translations from the Hebrew press. Another 20 percent is taken from various Soviet newspapers and just 30 percent of the material is original, he said.

Asked whether the papers pay for articles they translate and print, Kalashnikov answers: "It's a jungle."

George Mordel, editor of KRUG, one of the larger and older weeklies, was more blunt. "If the Israeli papers charged for their material, much of the Russian press would close within a week," Mordel said.

The total number of copies sold ranges from 30,000 to 50,000 a week, depending on who is doing the estimating. But the actual readership is much greater, says Yuri Stern, an adviser to the Knesset's Aliya and Immigration Committee.

Stern says that since the cost of the papers runs from NIS [new Israeli shekel] 1.60 to NIS 4.50, copies are often passed around. He estimates that SPUTNIK, a twice-weekly paper with a circulation of 12,000 for its Monday edition, is actually read by about 100,000 people.

The crowded market leads to battles for scoops, Stern said. But in the Russian-language press where most papers have more translators than reporters, a scoop often means nothing more than the translation of an interesting story from the Israeli or the Soviet press.

KRUG's Mordel takes a somewhat different approach, saying, "We only steal a little." When he uses material from other papers, he doesn't translate the whole article, but takes bits and pieces from several stories, which he says gives it "an original flavour."

The Russian-language press was in a crisis until April, when three new weeklies started up, Stern said. He said readers have become interested in the Russian-language press for two reasons. Rapidly changing developments in the USSR triggered a hunger for articles from the Soviet Union. Also, the spread of satellite dishes able to pick up Soviet television created a demand for Moscow television schedules. SPUTNIK is owned by the distributor of these satellite dishes.

Readers now find Russian television schedules next to Israeli and Jordanian TV listings. An average day's fare begins and ends with a symphony; Soviet movies and news shows are typical offerings.

Soviet immigrants are starved for news, says NASHA STRANA editor Shabtai Himmelfarb. Qol Yisra'el each day broadcasts only 20 minutes of news in Russian, compared with five hours of Russian-language programming that it transmits abroad.

Immigrants cannot afford the NIS 3 for NASHA STRANA, Himmelfarb says. "News immigrants suffer from a lack of money. They don't work for the first few months, and would rather buy bread than a paper. It takes a long time for them to be established enough to regularly buy a paper."

Himmelfarb, who also edits newspapers in Romanian, Hungarian, Polish, German and Yiddish, proposes that the Absorption Ministry or the Jewish Agency subsidize the papers.

A Russian-speaker who made aliyah from Poland in 1947, Himmelfarb says his paper is the oldest Russian weekly here. It was founded in 1969 and had a brief run as a dailay from 1980 to 1983. His readership, the immigrants of the early 1970s, slowly improved their Hebrew until a Russian daily became unnecessary.

Advertisers apparently believe it will be a long time before the new arrivals are fluent enough to read Hebrew newspapers. Editors of five of the weeklies report increased interest from advertisers.

Mordel says that in the past few months, he has doubled advertising in KRUG from 110 inches a week to 220 inches. Most of the advertisers are electrical appliance shops and real estate agents.

SPUTNIK's Avraham Lerner claims to be inundated by ads for Russian cultural evenings, which he says is ironic because the average new immigrant cannot afford to attend to concert or play.

An immigrant reading a couple of the weeklies will get a good dose of Israeli and Soviet politics, history, entertainment, chess, serialized detective novels and, if he reads KRUG, sex. In one of the weeklies, ALEF, there is also a column on the weekly Torah portion and information on Jewish holidays.

ALEF, which bills itself as "the only Jewish weekly in Russian," is the only one sent abroad. Its editor, Vladimir Hananelis, refused to disclose how many copies are sold here, but said 12,000 copies are sent overseas, including several hundred to the Soviet Union.

Although ALEF is published by Chamah, a Lubavith-affiliated organization, Hananelis says it is not a religious publication. He said the paper attempts to describe how different issues affect Jews.

Like most of the editors of the Russian-language weeklies, Hananelis has experience in the Soviet press. He was a Soviet journalist for 15 years, including a stint of writing for the Red Army newspaper.

Robert Golan, head of the Association of Soviet Immigrants in Israel, says that because of all the political coverage in the weeklies, readers lack information about the local immigrant scene.

"I would like to see more on absorption conditions here, more on the relation between different bodies dealing with immigrants, and more on how past Soviet immigrants have made it here," he said.

The small amount of aliyah coverage focuses on sensational stories—such as the Neture Karta's letter to Gorbachev asking him to curb immigration and Yamin Suissa's outburst on Soviet aliyah—which are blown out of proportion, Golan charged.

Though most of the weeklies have special sections for olim, the majority of the material is information reprinted from the Absorption Ministry. SPUTNIK is an exception with a weekly column on economics and the immigrant by former Prisoner of Zion Vladimir Lifshitz.

But new immigrants are not the only market for these papers. Yuri Stern came here nine years ago and still reads the Russian press.

"The same article that I read in Russian in 10 minutes would take me 30 minutes in Hebrew.... The days are gone when the immigrant feels he must come here and forget his own language," Stern said. "The immigrant will learn Hebrew at work. Reading the Russian press doesn't place a barrier in his way. It just makes things a little more comfortable for him."

Role of Media in Society Examined

Guide to Media

44000202 Tel Aviv ISRAELI DEMOCRACY
in English Winter 89 pp 22-24

[Article by Gila Ya'ar: "The Name of the Game Is Politics"]

[Text] Little Israel is a real media empire. Relative to its size (approximately the State of New Jersey) and population (4.5 million) it attracts immense international media attention. On any given day there are at least 350 foreign correspondents in the country; in times of crisis (and when isn't it a time of crisis?) their numbers exceed one thousand. Newspapers world-wide devote as many inches to Israel as to Japan or West Germany.

In Israel the media constitutes a major industry. Israelis are crazy about information: The picture of pedestrians on city streets listening to the news on transistor radios often strikes tourists. With over 2.5 million Hebrew-reading adults, Israel's dozen newspapers print approximately 750,000 copies daily.

The Power of the Pen

The origins of the Hebrew press are in Eastern Europe, where there was no tradition of a democratic press. Prior

to 1948 the press was mobilized for the national goal: establishment of the Jewish state. This approach of many political leaders did not change after the state was founded. The perception of the press as serving national, i.e., governmental interests, would probably have weakened were it not for Israel's continued "state of war".

Israeli politics are partisan politics. This has been reflected in the press as well. Even after the establishment of the state, party newspapers were extremely common. Most important papers were identified with a particular political stream. Commercial papers, established for profit and to reach a broad readership at the expense of quality, were viewed negatively.

However, party papers did not appeal to the general public. In an open, democratic, consumer society, the chances of party newspapers competing on the open market are small. Also as the parties weakened, the partisan press lost its status and the commercial press began to flourish in its place. The Central and Eastern European model of a partisan press was replaced by the Anglo-Saxon model of a free press, which is based on the idea of the public's "right to know".

Until the 1977 political "upheaval" there were always close ties between parties comprising the government coalition and the papers that supported them. However, with the Likud's rise to power there was, for the first time, a situation in which the ruling party had no paper to act as its mouthpiece or to automatically support its decisions.

Although there were several right-wing papers in the early years of statehood, they all closed, and every attempt to start such a paper in recent years has failed. The Likud leaders believed, at least in the beginning and to a certain extent justifiably so, that the media was hostile toward them, and consequently developed a suspicious attitude toward it. After failing to establish a right-wing paper, they decided to concentrate their efforts on television. Since Israeli television is a monopolistic, state-run too, the Likud leaders had to battle for appointments of right wingers to key positions in the Broadcasting Authority and Israeli Television.

In the 1960s, most of the party papers closed, including LAMERHAV which belonged to Ahdut Ha'avoda and HABOQER which was associated with the General Zionist Movement—later the Likud. They were replaced by tabloids, known as "evening papers," although they are distributed in the morning as are the higher quality papers.

There are three evening papers. YEDI'OT AHARONOT which has the widest distribution, sells 500,000 copies of its weekend edition. The other two are MA'ARIV and HADASHOT. The latter was the first to use color photographs. The distinguishing characteristic of the Israeli evening papers is that unlike the "yellow" tabloids of Europe and the United States, their central focus is politics.

The party papers still published are: DAVAR, the voice of the Histadrut (the Labor Union), which reflects the positions of the Labor Movement; 'AL HAMISHMAR, the official voice of MAPAM [United Workers Party]; and those of the various religious parties.

Due to Israel's small size, the dailies are all national papers. They are published six days a week, and no papers are published on Saturday. Statistics published by the Israeli Association of Advertisers show that the majority of Israeli readers choose YEDI'OT AHARONOT or MA'ARIV. On weekdays readership of the two is 66 percent of the population, on weekends 91 percent.

Resulting from the fact that most of its founders and past editors-in-chief were students of the Revisionist Movement, MA'ARIV has a right-wing image. In recent years the paper's tone has changed, and today it reflects a broad spectrum of views. YEDI'OT AHARONOT has always maintained the principle of pluralism; thus it expresses different views. HA'ARETZ is moderate and dovish in its political approach, however its economic positions are liberal and anti-Histadrut. DAVAR is both moderate and pro-Histadrut.

In addition to the dailies there is a large number of weekly local papers, as well as a variety of weekly magazines, monthlies and periodicals. Worth noting are the veteran weekly HA'OLAM HAZE, and the bi-monthly POLITIQA. The former is published by Uri Avneri, who used it to create a power base for himself; he was elected to the Knesset in 1965. The latter publishes high quality articles under the auspices of the Civil Rights Movement. There are also numerous papers in various languages, including Russian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Yiddish, German, French, Spanish, and a few in Arabic, that reflect the different political tendencies of the Israeli Arab community.

The Voice Over

Radio Palestine, the Mandatory Radio Service, began broadcasting in 1936 and was met with vehement opposition from the Arab community. Finally it was agreed that the station would only report the news as received from the British Government news department, and cultural topics; it would not cover political issues.

Radio Palestine operated in this format for 12 years, with parallel stations in Hebrew and Arabic. In 1948 the station became Qol Yisra'el (The Voice of Israel). It began as one station, and gradually grew into four: A, B, C and the Voice of Music.

Station A broadcasts "heavy" intellectual programs. Station B, a combination of lighter and more serious programs, is most popular among adults. Station C appeals to the youth, mainly airing pop music. The Voice of Music broadcasts classical music. Qol Yisra'el also broadcasts in Arabic and in foreign languages for new immigrants and foreign listeners.

Both radio and television are public bodies, like the BBC in Britain, and are governed by the Broadcasting Authority. The Broadcasting Authority Law ensures that equal time is given to the various views and opinions within the national consensus. However, due to the politicization of Israel, those running the Broadcasting Authority are, in fact, representatives of political parties, and the inter-party struggle here is waged hard, especially between Labor and the Likud.

Gale Tzahal is a military station which broadcasts 24 hours a day to the whole population—an exceptional phenomenon in a democratic state. Most of the news broadcasts are taken from Qol Yisra'el, although Gale Tzahal also produces its own news magazines and hourly news briefs. It also broadcasts music, general programs, and programs about the army or topics which might be of interest to army personnel. The station is run by an officer, and most of the announcers are uniformed soldiers. Its popularity seems to stem from the content of its shows, which is non-militaristic and reflects the culture of young people in Israel. No one questions its right to exist.

There are also two "pirate" stations which broadcast from ships in the Mediterranean, outside of Israel's territorial waters. The Voice of Peace, which broadcasts music and preaches for peace, is owned by Abie Nathan, a peace activist, currently serving a prison sentence for meeting illegally with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat. Due to Abie Nathan's special personality no measures have been taken to stop the broadcasts. The success of his station led the nationalist religious camp to start its own station, Channel 7, last year. Its format is similar to that of the Voice of Peace.

The Tube

Delayed largely because of Ben-Gurion's vehement opposition, Israeli Television made its debut in 1966 with educational programs for schools. In the aftermath of the Six Day War the following year, it was decided to introduce general television.

Until recently there was only one channel. In the morning and afternoon it broadcasts educational television. In the early evening programs are aired in Arabic for the local Arab population and that of neighboring countries. From 9 p.m. until after midnight Hebrew programs are shown.

The fact that there is only one channel creates great sensitivity among politicians and the general public over what is being produced. More than 60 percent of the population watches news programs, and the viewing rates are high for politics-related programs as well. For example, the Friday night "Weekly Magazine" is viewed by close to 90 percent of population that watches television during the Sabbath.

The exposure of the Israeli public to television is immense, which is why the parties struggle for influence and control over this medium. The positions of director

general of the Broadcasting Authority, director of television and director of the news department are extremely sensitive, and appointments are accompanied by open political struggle.

The fact that television and radio broadcasts are received in all of the neighboring Arab states creates additional pressure: Qol Yisra'el is considered the voice of the state. Thus much of the political struggle is over self-censorship and the boundary between free expression—criticism of the government's activities etc.—and security and national interests.

Two years ago a second television channel began broadcasting. At this stage it is still experimental, but it is intended to be a commercial station. Israel is also about to enter the newest realm of electronic communications: cable television. More than half a dozen companies have received government concessions to operate cable stations in various parts of the country; in the coming year most Israelis will have access to 20 to 30 channels, many of which will be imported from the United States.

Sensitivity to the written word, life in a tense security situation, and a political culture which is vibrant and highly developed have made Israel a paradise for international and local media.

Journalists Express Views

44000202 Tel Aviv *ISRAELI DEMOCRACY*
in English Winter 89 pp 35-37

[Article: "Why the Hostility?"; Aharon Harel moderates a symposium of journalists]

[Text] A study examining the degree of confidence the Israeli public has in various national institutions (*ISRAELI DEMOCRACY*, Fall 1989) found the press at the bottom of the list. Not surprising. It is a long known fact that the Israeli public fears much hostility toward the media, despite how heavily the public relies on it. The following is an adaptation of the complete transcript, which originally appeared in the Hebrew literary magazine 'ITON 77, No 117.

Aharon Harel

There is hatred among the Israeli public toward the media today. You see bumper stickers that read: "The nation is against a hostile media." Journalists and public figures receive anonymous phone calls. These are just a few examples of this hatred. The question we must ask is whether these people are merely members of marginal groups expressing their political positions, or whether we are dealing with something much broader: The public hates the media because the media tells the truth.

This year, for example, during Hebrew Book Week, the biggest sellers were thrillers and science fiction. Are we facing an escapist trend? Is the public escaping the media by seeking the world of imagination and denial?

People are willing to watch "Dynasty" on TV; but, when intifadah events are reported, the response is "the nation is against a hostile media."

Yossef Lapid

Hostility towards the media is not only an Israeli phenomenon. It exists world wide and stems from several sources. One source is people's dependence on the media. All dependence breeds hatred. A second is that in a highly organized society the media is often viewed as an uncontrolled body which does as it pleases, without any social discipline. Journalists, as opposed to other professionals of similar social status, like lawyers, do not need a license to write. This is disturbing both to the public as a whole and to individuals. A third source stems from coverage of unpleasant incidents, which can be explicitly disturbing.

I believe that in Israel there is an additional factor: the vast gap between the general tone of the media and the national consensus. The nation is against the media because the media is against the nation. Much of the media's attitude toward the public, especially toward the underprivileged masses of Oriental origin, smacks of patronage. If our media would regard nationalist Jews the same way it regards nationalist Arabs, if the aspirations of Gush Emunim would be presented as thoroughly as those of the intifadah, then the general public would not view the press with such hostility.

However, the intellectual Left, which sets the tone in our media, erred in assuming that in favoring democracy it would automatically represent majority opinion. While this was so during the Ben-Gurion era, and perhaps for a short time afterward, today the Left has lost its grasp on both democracy and the state, and is unable to overcome the demographic obstacle of representing the proletariat masses, which adhere to different beliefs.

In this respect the media has much less influence than it believes it does. Were it so influential, the Democrats would always win in the United States, and the Civil Rights Movement [CRM] would be Israel's largest party. MK [Member of Knesset] Mordekhay Virshuvsky (CRM) has often quoted to me the expression: "The stupid leaders of the Likud and the Alignment." I told him he wasn't saying everything he was thinking; what he really was saying was that the people are stupid—the people who chose these leaders. But the public understands what Virshuvsky is silently thinking, and this is why they hate the media, which expresses these positions of the intellectual Left.

Dina Goren

The hostility, antagonism and hatred toward the media are primarily a result of the fact that while the government dislikes the press for obvious reasons, the public accepts the government and its leadership. Basically we are dealing with the natural and understandable hostility of the criticized toward the critic. When does this become dangerous? When the public does not accept the

legitimacy of the media as critic. In this respect we are extremely different from the Untied States. In the United States, the media's criticism is not considered hostile because there criticism is legitimate. In Israel criticism is considered illegitimate.

History points to several reasons for this position: the fact that we are a persecuted people for so many years; Zionist education, which only praised the new Israeli society; and the serious security problem. In the United States, high school graduates understand that the media's criticism of the government is not a political position but a professional vantage point. In Israel, however, the masses have acquired the distorted and anti-democratic notion that the media's criticism stems from opposition to the regime.

On this point certain Israeli leaders have manipulated the public's hostility toward the press as a preventive measure. To avoid contending with the public's criticism, if and when it emerges, the leaders have insulated themselves from it in advance, as if to say: We could have done better, but the press has prevented us from being successful. The press has been disruptive in the past and it will be disruptive in the future as well. This is where I see the main danger.

Gideon Samet

There are two dangerous illusions which Yosef Lapid expressed. One is the illusion that the people decide. The people do not decide, except once—at the ballot box. From that moment on their power of decision ceases, they receive only what a scrupulous screening system gives them. The second, more complex and dangerous illusion, is the thought that the people are not interested in quality, the assumption that if you let market forces prevail (we are speaking of the media—television and press), and the people have a large selection, they will always choose the worst.

I, like Dina, believe that the public is not automatically inclined toward the lowest common denominator. It is the consequence of many factors, at least one of which does not depend on the people but on the "management." In other words, there is a vicious circle here which causes this dangerous illusion, a circle in which the various managers—directors of publishing houses, editors of papers, directors of theaters etc.—who decide on matters of culture and taste, supply the public with inferior merchandise on the erroneous assumption that this is what the public wants.

I argue that one can make quality a marketable commodity. One certainly can turn something of high quality into a hit, and if one doesn't, it is only out of weakness. In my opinion, the real challenge for everyone in this business is not to hide behind the argument that "we do not dictate, because the people decide." The people do not decide. The people consume according to the decision of those who design the available opportunities.

We are dealing with this issue while television is still in its infancy in Israel; other areas are not so easy to repair, such as construction. In the media there is still a lot that can be done. We are, in fact, in the beginning of our television history, and this is the time to make sure that neither its quality nor its consumers will suffer.

Yoram Peri

I would like to return to the question of the lack of the political leadership's understanding of the media's criticism. Objectively, there is a gap between the positions of the broader strata of the population and the positions of the press. However, this gap does not stem from the fact that the public represents the national consensus and the press diverges from it, as Mr. Lapid argues. What happens is that the journalists express the political positions of the upper strata of the Israeli public, and there is a gap between the positions of these strata and those of the lower strata.

Since 1967, and especially since 1973, a "national consensus" has not existed. The people are divided on the issues of the territories and peace. What every Israeli sociologist knows is that there is a relationship between class, education, level of income, occupation, place of residence etc., and political positions. And here, as I have said, the journalists reflect the positions of the higher strata, which include academia, the cultural elite and the senior command of the IDF [Israel Defense Force]. This gap is what causes the alienation between the general public and the press, and this is what enrages the lower strata which do not agree with the dovish, critical positions of the media. So what do you, Mr. Lapid, propose that the journalists do? Should they reflect the opinions of the lower strata, even if those views are contrary to their own?

At the same time I agree with Dina's observation that the hostility stems first and foremost from the fact that the readers are not taught what the role of the media is as critic. Therefore, when they stand exposed to this criticism they prefer to switch off the television set or close the newspaper, not to see and not to know.

However, I am not impressed by the hostility of a public which consumes such vast quantities of the merchandise which it despises. In Israel the consumption of television programs is high, and the consumption of newspapers is immense. Every third adult in the state purchases a newspaper on Friday. What should concern us is not the attitude of the people toward the media, but the attitude of the media toward the people.

- Dr. Dina Goren lectures in mass communications at the universities of Tel Aviv and Bar Ilan and is chairwoman of the Ramat Gan Municipal Council.
- Yossef Lapid, former director general of the Broadcasting Authority, is on the editorial board of the Hebrew daily MA'ARIV.
- Gideon Samet is the editor of the Hebrew magazine POLITIQA which is published by the Civil Rights Movement.

- Dr. Yoram Peri is deputy editor of the Hebrew daily DAVAR and a fellow at the Jaffe center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.
- Aharon Harel, formerly a Member of Knesset (Labor), is chairman of the Broadcasting Authority.

OMAN

Details of Armed Forces Exercise Described

90OL0183A *Dubayy AL-BAYAN*
in Arabic 15 Dec 89 p 15

[Article: "Bold Adventure" Reaffirms Omani Fighter's Qualifications and Relentlessness"]

[Text] The commanders of the Omani Armed Forces [OAF] are making fast and faithful efforts to crystallize the instructions of Sultan Qabus, the Sultan of Oman, to upgrade the substance and performance of the OAF in accordance with the latest scientific principles and contemporary military methods. The OAF have made great headway in this regard, underscoring their sound structure, their meticulous organization, their outstanding training, their efficient armament, and the ability of their logistical units to work behind them under all circumstances.

The tactical exercise, "Bold Adventure", was part of the training program and a true translation of the rigorous and advanced training the OAF have undergone in order to live up to their responsibilities and to be always ready to answer the call of duty.

The Omani army ground forces, with air force support, executed the tactical exercise "Bold Adventure" last October. The exercise was witnessed by General 'Ali Bin-Majid al-Mu'ammari, minister of palace office affairs; Sayf Bin-Hamad al-Battash, secretary general of the Ministry of Defense; Staff General Hamid Bin-Sa'id al-'Awfi, chief-of-staff of the Sultan Armed Forces [SAF]; and senior armed forces officers. Staff Lieutenant General Khamis Bin-Hamid al-Kalabani, commander of the Sultan of Oman Army Ground Forces, outlined the exercise's course and stages of implementation and presented a brief report from the control staff on the exercise's objectives and plan.

The exercise was carried out by tactical units, by units from the armored, artillery, engineering, mechanical, signal, transportation, supply and medical support corps, and by other logistical units with support from Sultan of Oman Air Force fighter and transport planes and air defense means.

The exercise included an attack on a topographically diverse area, thus simulating authentic military operations. Supposed enemy troops attacked an area supposed to be an Omani defense position. Assigned units defended the area first and then waged a counteroffensive in which the various troops participated as part of the exercise plan.

The attack was more like a real battle. Soldiers took positions in their trenches, alert, holding on to their weapons and clinging to the ground. Backed by artillery and armored support weapons, they showered the supposed enemy troops with a fire barrage, thus forcing them to retreat.

This exercise, which was carried out by the Sultan of Oman Army ground forces, supported by the Sultan of Oman Air Force, substantiated the results of an ongoing advanced training effort the SAF have undergone, underscoring their military hardware's efficacy and their troops' ability to assimilate modern arms.

This highly successful exercise won the admiration and appreciation of the officials who followed all phases of its implementation. Gen 'Ali Bin-Majid al-Mu'ammari, minister of palace office affairs, expressed his satisfaction with the exercise's success by saying: "The tactical exercise carried out by the Sultan of Oman Army ground forces, with the support of the Sultan of Oman Air Force, has been a success. It was marked by a quick and meticulous execution and cooperation and coordination in carrying out the offensive part of it, both by the Sultan of Oman and units and fighter planes. They all played an outstanding role typified by the Omani fighter's masterful management and execution of such a successful exercise so that the SAF may sustain their continued growth and development."

He added, "We congratulate all those who managed and executed this tactical exercise and we wish them further success which is par for the course for them in the readiness and training stages."

Staff Lt. Gen. Khamis Bin-Hamid al-Kalabani, commander of the Omani army ground forces, said: "The main objective of the exercise is to test the combat efficiency of the Omani land forces and at the same time to correct and avoid past mistakes in future exercises. The entire North Oman Brigade and a number of Sultan of Oman armored units and other support units took part in this exercise. In the wake of this exercise, it can be said that the Sultan of Oman Army ground forces have attained a very good standard and their training has entered a most advanced stage." He added: "We are most satisfied with the high standard the Sultan of Oman Army ground forces have attained and the exercise was carried out according to plan."

Staff Brig Gen 'Ali Bin-Salim al-Mu'ammari, North Oman Brigade commander who commanded the exercise's tactical front command, said, "This exercise was undertaken by the Sultan of Oman Air Force and the Sultan of Oman Army units, including armor, artillery, engineers, paratroops, transportation, medical, supply units, as well as a logistical unit whose job was to provide fire and administrative support to the formations carrying out the exercise. This unit played an active and constructive role in carrying out the exercise. This unit played an active and constructive role in carrying out the coordination and support tasks assigned it. The purpose

of this exercise was to deploy from the camps to the areas of concentration and from there to the defensive position at different times; to provide on-the-job training to staff officers in the battlefield in defensive procedures, communications procedures, and intelligence methods; and to train commanders of all ranks in the art of decisionmaking, ideational reasoning, and situation assessment. The Sultan of Oman Air Force played an important and vital part in this exercise and its capabilities helped us to enact a real battle by providing close air support such as evacuation, supply, and transportation by helicopter and Jaguar, Hunter and light and heavy transport planes took part as well." The Armored Corps commander commented on the exercise by saying that his troops "provided cover for the 'Bold Adventure' exercise at the forward positions in front of the line of defense up to the supposed international boundaries, holding up the enemy for a certain period of time according to plan. They then provided support to the troops repulsing the attack and reinforced them with a tank company. The Sultan of Oman Armored Corps participated with three types of tanks in service: the 'Akrab' [Scorpion] medium scouting tank, the Chieftan tank and the M-60 heavy tank used for countering the supposed enemy tanks. The exercise was a success and provided useful lessons. New officers benefited from the exercise of tactical functions and duties and we have identified the positive and negative aspects of the exercise, something usually spotted in the field." As for the commander SAF corps of engineers, he commanded by saying, "The engineering group played several parts. It erected artificial barriers. It set up tactical and nuisance mine fields. It helped to establish command posts and dig trenches for support weapons such as artillery and other arms. Groups of soldiers closed the breaches and opened breaches during the counteroffensive waged by the deterrent forces. The engineering group also set off explosions to enact a battlefield atmosphere in order to fire up the troops. The field engineering group carried out its work of opening roads and building trenches with enthusiasm, precision, and speed. It also played an active part in removing barriers during pursuit of the supposed enemy remnants and in clearing mine fields."

SAUDI ARABIA

Military, Civilian Aircraft Facility To Be Built 90OL0262A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 6 Feb 90 pp 42-45

[Article by Matar al-Ahmadi: "General Director of al-Salam Aircraft Company to AL-MAJALLAH: Company Revenues in First Decade Are \$1 Billion; More Than 400 Work Opportunities at Start of Work and More Than 100 During Development of Work; Company Center Capable of Producing Helicopters in Future"]

[Text] Riyadh—The first phase of al-Salam Aircraft Company will be to set up a complete center to reconstruct and to carry out overall maintenance work. In the long run, the company will be able to assemble aircraft, especially helicopters.

Al-Salam Aircraft Company, one of the Peace Shield Project's economic balance program companies, began in August 1988 after a consortium of several companies led by Boeing (the Boeing Technological Industrialization Group) won the contract for the defense Peace Shield Project. The contract stipulates that the executing company shall invest 35 percent of the technical value of the services and goods in projects that contribute to the transfer of technology. This requires, in turn, the presence of Saudis in these projects.

Amin al-Shuri, the company general director, has pointed out that al-Salam includes the Boeing Technological Industrialization Group and that this group will transfer the technology and will contribute 50 percent of the capital that amounts to 460 million ryals, of which 115 million ryals, or 25 percent, have already been paid. A number of Saudi and Gulf companies have contributed the other 50 percent of the capital by varying percentages. These companies are: the Saudi Arab Airways [Saudia], 25 percent; the National Industrialization Company, 10 percent; the Saudi Advanced Industries Company, five percent; and the Gulf Investment Company, 10 percent.

At the technological complex at King Khalid International Airport in Riyadh, a major construction firm will begin building al-Salam Company installations next March or April over an area of 480,000 square meters. International, Arab, and Saudi firms have participated in a bid to implement the project, including (Ballast Neidham, Domez, Goskaf) Ibn-Ladin, al-Mabani, Philip Holzman, al-Khurafi, and other firms [as published]. The general director expects that work on the project will be completed by the end of November 1991 and that the aircraft reconstruction, overall maintenance, and production center will begin operating in February 1992.

The center includes nine hangars, three of which will be put into operation in the first phase. Each hangar or workshop will be able to accommodate two military aircraft and two commercial jetliners simultaneously or a single Boeing-747 jumbo jet. Boeing Company will be a beneficiary "because the long-term agreement concluded with this company calls for the transfer of technology on the modification of aircraft fuselage, on the processes of designing and manufacturing compounded materials, and on the technology of helicopter propellers."

In the first phase, the company activity will include commercial and military aircraft overall [maintenance], the production of some parts, and the reproduction of other parts. Al-Shuri explains the concept of production and reproduction by citing a part of the aircraft as an example, saying: "Let us assume it is the wing. If the company produces some spare parts and replacements

for wornout parts, then this step is a production step. When consumed parts of the wing are replaced by new parts produced at the company, then the wing will have been subjected to the process of reconstruction."

Al-Shuri asserts that the project has proved its economic feasibility and that "its material yield will be beneficial to all partners. The project is founded on purely commercial bases. Initially, the emphasis will be put on the Saudi Arab Airways aircraft and the aircraft of the Saudi Royal Air Force. The aircraft of Saudi firms, such as ARAMCO [Arabian-American Oil Company], and of the various ministries, and private aircraft will then benefit from these services."

No similar projects exist in the Arab countries. There are maintenance facilities that are not owned by the private sector but that belong to the official agencies of these countries. Therefore, al-Salam Aircraft Company's future aspirations are that its services will encompass the Arab countries, particularly the nearby Gulf countries, especially since these countries are members in one of the owning companies, namely the Gulf Investment Establishment.

Al-Shuri believes that the project will contribute greatly to saving Saudia, other nearby airlines, and Saudi fighter and helicopter aircraft time when various parts are remanufactured locally instead of having to wait for days or weeks for the delivery of spare parts or the arrival of technicians from abroad. Production will not be offered for sale in the initial phase but will be designated for the clients (Saudia and the Saudi Air Force).

More Than \$1 Billion

In the first year, the center will generate 350,000 work hours, which will increase gradually to reach 600,000 work hours in 1995. The project's full capacity is one million work hours (annually). The company's annual sales are expected to amount to more than \$100 million and the "company's sales volume in the first decade will exceed \$1 billion." These are rewarding revenues for the partners.

The transfer of technology is not accomplished, as al-Shuri says, by acquiring and working on equipment but by "teaching Saudi youth to perform various tasks with the equipment, to develop the production levels, and to develop the equipment itself as well." How will this be accomplished? The general director answers: The company is tied by agreements to the Boeing Technological Industrialization Company [Group] to train Saudi youth. Complete coordination is also established with the specialized technical institutes, such as al-Jubayl and Yanbu' Royal Authority institutes, and with the General Technical Training Organization institutes "to train Saudi youth for the new phase of advanced industries."

Hands-on training on various specializations will be provided at the company center. But this company, like the other economic balance companies, will not offer education on basic principles. Any applying youth must have the proper educational standard.

When work starts at the center, the company will provide more than 400 work opportunities to Saudi youths. With the development of production, the opportunities will grow to more than 1,100 in number.

Concluding his interview with AL-MAJALLAH, al-Shuri asserted that the al-Salam Aircraft Company "will have a positive impact on the commercial and military aircraft industry in the Kingdom and the Arab region and will reduce the time needed to put aircraft back into operation. It will also reduce the problems of spare-part delivery and storage." Moreover, it will attract a large number of Saudi youth specialized in the various fields.

Company Data

Company name: Al-Salam Aircraft Company.

- Declared capital: 460 million Saudi riyals.
- Paid capital: 115 million Saudi riyal (25 percent).
- Activity: Maintenance and modification of aircraft fuselage, manufacturing and reproducing spare parts, including compounded materials and fibers used in building aircraft fuselage.

Stockholders:

- The Saudi Arab Airways [Saudia], 25 percent.

- The National Industrialization Company, 10 percent.
- The Saudi Advanced Industries Company, five percent.
- The Gulf Investment Establishment, 10 percent.
- The Boeing Technological Industrialization Group, 50 percent.

Executive Board:

- (Retired) Staff General 'Abdullah al-Hamdan (representative of the Saudi Advanced Industries Company), board chairman.
- Dr. Sa'd al-Sayyari (Saudi Advanced Industries Company), member.
- 'Adnan Ahmad al-Dabbagh (Saudi Airways), member.
- Yusuf al-Hamdan (National Industrialization Company), member.
- 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Ali (Gulf Investment Establishment), member.
- Klaus Clayson, Executive Board deputy chairman.
- Theodore Bell, member.
- Mervin (Croyn), member.
- Ronald Glover, member. [as published]

Voting is in accordance with ownership percentage in the company.

BANGLADESH

Finance Minister Tells State of Economy

46001234 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION*
in English 15 Jan 90 p 8

[Text] Finance Minister Dr Wahidul Huq yesterday informed the Jatiya Sangsad that the country's economic growth rate was 6.70 percent in 1972-73 and 2.09 percent in 1988-89, reports BSS.

Replies to Mr Md Nurul Islam Moni (Ind-Barguna) during question hour, the Finance Minister attributed the low growth rate in 1988-89 to devastating floods.

Giving the year-wise break-up of the growth rate, he said it was 9.51 percent in 1973-74, 2 percent in 1974-75, 9.69 percent in 1975-76, 1.68 percent in 1976-77, 7.89 percent in 1977-78, 4.03 percent in 1978-79, 2.94 percent in 1979-80, 6.08 percent in 1980-81, 0.94 percent in 1981-82, 3.69 percent in 1982-83, 4.20 percent in 1983-84, 3.93 percent in 1984-85, 4.01 percent in 1985-86, 4 percent in 1986-87, and 2.95 percent in 1987-88.

Exchange Rate

Dr Wahidul Huq said the exchange rate of Bangladesh currency declined in the international market till November 12, 1988, but since then the exchange rate with dollar remained unchanged at Tk 32.27.

He told principal Sirajul Islam (JP-Mymensingh-Netrakona), in the Jatiya Sangsad during a question-hour that basis of its demand is foreign exchange availability, inherent economic strength, annual stability and its reserve in foreign exchange. The supply of foreign exchange in our country depended on the export earnings, remittances of overseas Bangladeshis as well as foreign aid and assistance, he added.

Dr Huq said quantum of remittance from the overseas Bangladeshis declined to some extent during the first part of the current year compared to that of last year.

Per Capita Income

Per capita income in the country during 1988-89 was U.S. dollars 160, the Finance Minister told the Jatiya Sangsad yesterday. Replying to a question from M. Nurul Islam Moni (Barguna), the Minister said per capita domestic production during the period was Taka 4,867 equivalent to U.S. dollars 151.

Dr Huq informed the Jatiya Sangsad that per capita income of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries during 1987-88 was India—U.S. dollars 277, Pakistan—309, Nepal—145, Sri Lanka—368, Bhutan—192, and the Maldives—476.

He said per capita savings in Bangladesh was only 2 percent which was the major impediment in resource mobilisation. The interest paid by the banks to the

deposit holders in Bangladesh was higher in comparison to many other countries yet the savings was not increasing, he added.

New Chief Justice of Bangladesh Sworn In

46001235 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*
in English 15 Jan 90 pp 1, 10

[Excerpts] Mr. Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, the senior-most judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court was sworn in on Sunday as the Chief Justice of Bangladesh. He is the sixth Chief Justice of the country, the first from the civil service in Bangladesh and the sixth in the subcontinent.

Justice Shahabuddin was elevated as a judge of the Appellate Division on February 7, 1980, and was confirmed in this office on April 15, 1981. After the retirement of Justice Badrul Haider Chowdhury on December 31, he performed the function of the office of the Chief Justice so long under Art 97 of the Constitution. The delay in his appointment caused some stir in the Bar.

His appointment as Chief Justice is widely welcomed by the Bar. He is well known for his candid expression of judicial opinions. He is a strong disciplinarian as well.

Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed in his celebrated judgment in 8th amendment case has found "integrated Supreme Court", "independence of Judiciary" and "unitary character of state" as the basic structures of the Constitution that cannot be touched by the Parliament. He has taken note of what is spoken of as "revolution" in the Third World countries and has observed that is the mere seizer of state power by any means fair or foul, and if a real revolution comes it cannot be prevented by the Constitution however flexible it might be.

The judgment appears to have also covered the recent controversy in the political arena to revive the unamended 1972-Constitution of the Republic. He took note of the Constitution Fourth Amendment that changed the Constitution beyond recognition in many respects and the changes brought about by ML Proclamations and the 5th Amendment. His Lordships held: In spite of these vital changes from 1975 by destroying some of the basic structures of the Constitution, nobody challenged them in court after revival of the Constitution; consequently, they were accepted by the people, and by their acquiescence have become part of the Constitution.

His Lordship in this judgment further took note of the mood of appointment of the judges and their appointment on their retirement. He observed inter alia: Selection of a person for appointment as a judge in disregard to the question of his competence and his earlier performance as an advocate or a judicial officer may bring in "spineless judge" in the words of President Roosevelt; such a person can hardly be an independent judge. His Lordship did not favour the practice to appoint retired

judges as Chairman of Tribunal of Labour, Appellate Tribunal and Administrative Tribunal.

A great number of his decisions are reported in law journals. In service matters, election disputes and labour-management relations some of his judgments have been highly appreciated.

Life Sketch

Mr. Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was born in 1930 in village Pemai of Kendua in the undivided district of Mymensingh. His father late Talukdar Risat A. Bhuiyan was a renowned social worker and philanthropist. He took B.A. (Hons) in Economics in 1951 and M.A. in International Relations from Dhaka University.

Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed also held the post of Chairman, Bangladesh Red Cross Society from August 1978 to April 1982 in addition to his duties as judge of the Supreme Court. As Chief Executive of the Red Cross Society, he reorganised and practically rebuilt the Society, raised its image in the sphere of International Red Cross and earned wide applause for the Society's successful implementation of a number of emergency relief operations and cyclone preparedness programme. [passage omitted]

He was also Chairman of Commission of Enquiry established under the Commission of Enquiry Act on the Police Firing on students in mid-February of 1983 but his report was not published by the government. He was Chairman of the National Pay Commission in 1984 and submitted a report on the basis of which upward revision of pay-scales was made. His another recommendation for reverting to the old office-hours from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. is found to have been accepted with slight modification very recently.

Dhaka Seminar Considers Third World Development

Ershad Speech

46001236 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*
in English 14 Jan 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on Saturday called for greater flow of resources from the developed and affluent nations to the low-income countries to help them attain the desired level of economic growth, reports BSS.

An augmented flow of resources would stimulate growth in the low-income countries and in the process add to the global growth by boosting the economic engine across frontiers, the President said while inaugurating an international seminar on structural adjustment policies in the Third World in Dhaka.

But unfortunately, President Ershad said, development assistance from the industrialised countries had not yet reached the level recommended by the United Nations.

He said there had also been a resistance to the efforts for the restructuring of the existing world economic order and cautioned that the global peace and stability would face peril if the rich countries consistently ignored the pressing demand for a balanced development of the world.

A better world could emerge if the entire humanity pools its resources and talents in a combined campaign to wipe out poverty, underdevelopment and all the ills that go with them, the President said.

The seminar has been organised by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) in collaboration with the World Institute for Development Economic Research (WIDER), World Bank and United Nations Development Programme.

The three-day seminar is being attended by representatives of the countries of the region and International Monetary Fund, World Bank, UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development], UNDP [United Nations Development Program], UN-ESCAP [United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific], UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund], Commonwealth Secretariat and host Bangladesh.

The inaugural session chaired by Planning Minister A. K. Khandker, was also addressed by Director General BIDS, Mahbub Hussain, Director of WIDER Lal Jayawardena, Director of World Bank John Holsen, Resident Representative of the UNDP Erling Dessaau and the seminar coordinator Sultan Hafeez Rahman.

Vice President Moudud Ahmed, Ministers, representatives of the aid giving agencies, members of the diplomatic community, concerned officials, development practitioners, academicians and researchers attended the inaugural session held at Hotel Sonargoan.

Referring to the structural adjustment policies, President Ershad said the success of policies would depend on the specific context of a country.

These factors could only be ignored at the risk of upsetting social stability and economic performances, he said adding hence policies that might have worked well in more developed economies might not be applicable to a country at a different economic level and with a different social climate.

In fact, the President said, the implementation of generic adjustment packages without considering the particular features of a given country could have adverse consequences for its economy.

President Ershad said while adjustment policies are applied, adequate attention should be paid to the social dimensions of economic measures.

For instance, he noted, "we have to keep in mind a country's employment situation, poverty conditions,

nutritional levels and rate of literacy while considering a policy adjustment. [quotation marks as published]

The cost of structural adjustment may fall unevenly on the poor and vulnerable groups in the country and this is a point we have to keep in view, the President said.

President Ershad said policy makers in developing countries were placing an increased emphasis on structural adjustment and added that this was also high on the agenda of low-income developing countries with a high level of dependence on foreign assistance.

In Bangladesh he said major changes had been made in economic policy, administrative structure and development planning in the past eight years. This had been done in keeping with the need for hastening progress, optimum use of resources and distributing the benefits of development to all, the President added.

In the eighties, President Ershad said, our adjustment policy started with the decentralisation of administration. Upazilas were created with the provision to run them by the elected representatives of the people so as to ensure popular participation and interest in local development activities.

We decentralised the decision making process and delegated financial powers in keeping with the administrative decentralisation, he said and added this was done to give a greater degree of freedom to all tiers of the administration in planning and implementing development programmes.

The President noted that the adjustment policies also encompassed agriculture, the mainstay of Bangladesh's economy up till now. We have sought to release all productive forces to enhance the pace of development in the sector, he added.

He recalled that the present government had also initiated land reforms to free farmers from the age-old exploitative tenurial system.

President Ershad said a debt settlement board had been set up to liberate the poor peasantry from the clutches of never ending debt obligations.

He said these steps have had a significant impact on agricultural production. The farmers have become more productive and this is reflected in the bumper harvest which is expected this year, the President said.

But there is need for sustaining this trend and for that purpose we would have to take further measures, the President said.

Referring to the high priority attached to the industrialisation in the development scheme, President Ershad said a liberal industrial policy had been formulated and all measures have been taken to make industrial investment in Bangladesh an attractive proposition.

The President pointed out that Bangladesh's economy was able to forge ahead despite the destruction caused by the natural disasters and this year the country is expecting a growth rate of five percent. For maintaining this trend we have to go for adjustments incorporating disaster management in development planning, he added.

Describing the structural adjustment as a crucial issue in developing countries, President Ershad expressed the hope that the seminar would come out with pragmatic suggestions which could be applied to the situation in the Third World.

U.S. Aid Strategy

46001236 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION*
in English 14 Jan 90 p 5

[Editorial: "New U.S. Aid Strategy"]

[Text] The United States of America is contemplating slashing its aid commitments to third world countries. The United States and many other donor nations are likely to redraw their aid commitment programme in view of political changes that have taken place in Eastern European countries. Dramatic reforms leading to dismantling of monolithic system of state has boosted demand for increased flow of economic assistance to countries which have recently disengaged themselves from one-party communist rule.

The move was forthcoming but some senior US state department officials who had recently visited Dhaka in their private conversations expressed their ignorance about any rethinking in the White House about US aid to third world countries.

The White House decision to trim the flow of American assistance will reawaken the fear in many third world capitals about their slice of aid receiving further cut. Pakistan which was the fourth largest recipient of US assistance will see its aid package from Washington cut by 160 million USD. US officials said the search for monies to help Panama and East European countries would focus in large part on major recipients such as Israel, Egypt, Turkey and the Philippines—which is due to begin crucial negotiations on the future of US military bases on its territory.

State department officials acknowledged that a dozen unidentified countries which normally would receive US aid will get nothing this year due to the new strains on the already hard-pressed foreign aid budget, which totalled 14.6 billion dollars for fiscal 1990. The US fiscal year begins from September.

New realities in Panama and Europe were forcing a reappraisal of US aid strategy. The bottom line is that there are budget constraints and the sufferer will be the traditional US allies.

Many third world countries including Bangladesh are heavily dependent on foreign assistance. The United

States is a major donor country. Any cut in the flow of aid from USA to poor third world nations could lead to uneasy situations in these countries. This is the time when greater emphasis should be given on the need of democratically accountable government for ensuring proper utilisation of foreign aid.

Communists Call for Participation in Elections

46001237 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION*
in English 14 Jan 90 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] The Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) favours "united" participation in the next upazila elections for inflicting a blow to the "monopolistic grip" of the "autocratic rulers" on local administration.

This was stated by Mr Nurul Islam, a Central Secretary of CPB, at a press conference organised by the party at its central office in the city yesterday.

He said that it was yet to be decided whether the Eight-party Alliance, of which CPB is a component, would take part in the upazila polls unitedly.

The CPB had virtually arrived at a consensus on the question of participation in the UZ election, he said adding although it was not usually held on party basis. [passage omitted]

INDIA

Singh Government Takes New Stand Against Union Carbide

Settlement Opposed
46001207 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 13 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Jan. 12—In a significant development, the National Front government has decided to back the voluntary organisations petitioning against the \$470 million settlement arrived at between the previous Congress government and the Union Carbide Corporation on the Bhopal gas leak disaster.

The Union law and justice minister, Mr Dinesh Goswami, at a Press Conference here today said the new government does not consider the settlement "just and fair," and the compensation is inadequate.

The government has also decided to work out a scheme for granting one-time interim relief to the victims living in 36 severely affected wards of Bhopal. The quantum and the structure of the relief will be decided soon by the government after holding consultations with the voluntary organisations involved in relief operations.

Mr Goswami said: "The government is of the view that human life in India is not so cheap that the worst industrial disaster of the world which has affected the lives and health of lakhs of people could be compensated by an amount of \$470 million."

The government's decision has put a big question mark on the \$470 million which Carbide has already transferred to the Reserve Bank under the earlier agreement. The whole case, already enmeshed in legal petitions, is likely to get further delayed denying early compensation to the victims.

The Rajiv Gandhi government in February 1989 had arrived at a settlement with Union Carbide even when the case was proceeding in the Supreme Court. Subsequently, some voluntary organisations moved a petition seeking the review of the decision. The then government defended the settlement saying it was just and the compensation was "adequate."

The Supreme Court also accepted some review petitions against the Bhopal Gas (Claims and Compensation) Act which gave complete authority to the government to fight the case on behalf of the victims. The Supreme Court, in a recent judgment, upheld the Act but the new government's decision has given a different twist to the entire case. The government has now decided to back the review petitions filed by the voluntary organisations which have questioned the Act.

The government's decision will open up the criminal proceedings against Union Carbide and its high-ranking officials. Earlier, while arriving at the settlement, the government had withdrawn all criminal cases against Carbide. The CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] had chargesheeted the then chairman of the corporation, Mr Warren Anderson, but the case was withdrawn.

The government is now of the view that "the union of India has no authority or right to arrive at a settlement which extinguishes all rights of the affected victims in respect of criminal liability." The government feels it is an important matter of principle.

The Union Cabinet met and discussed the issue two days ago.

A delegation of two voluntary organisations, Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan and Bhopal Gas Peedit Sangarsh Sahyog Samiti, submitted a petition to the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, demanding intervention in the Bhopal case. They also met the finance minister, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, and minister of petroleum.

Importance of Stand

46001207 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 14 Jan 90 pp 1, 9

[Article by Upendra Baxi: "Government Move on Carbide Historic"]

[Text] New Delhi, January 13—Yesterday's announcement by the Union law minister, Mr Dinesh Goswami, on the Bhopal settlement marks the revival of the rule of law not only for the victims but also for the country's future.

In declaring that a "life in India is not so cheap that the worst industrial disaster which affected the lives of lakhs could be compensated by \$470 million," Mr V. P. Singh's government has sought to restore the dignity of the poor in the third world.

In this sense this historic announcement creates a human rights endowment for all the people of the third world who remain exposed to the mercy of the multi-nationals. The government deserves the nation's applause for acting boldly on the basis of axiomatic moral principles.

The strategy of action outlined in the announcement has four important components. First, it declares that the victims have certain "inalienable rights" to remedies. This recognition is entirely consistent with the parental role of the government writ large in the Bhopal Act which has been further elaborated by the supreme court in its December 22 decision.

The *parens patriae* role repels any suggestion of antagonism between the government and the victims. The Union by the innate logic of the Bhopal Act, is both on behalf of and at the behest of the victims. This logic was unfortunately obscured by last year's settlement. Now it stands vigorously reinstated.

Second, the announcement recognises the right to interim relief. The one-time interim relief programme is not just bureaucratically announced. Rather, the victim groups are to participate in this decision-making process. Thus both the principles of right to information and of participative administration stand inaugurated.

The victim groups have proposed a draft ordinance for interim relief for 106,000 families in 36 municipal wards of Bhopal acknowledged by the Madhya Pradesh government as being directly gas-hit. The annual expenditure on this relief was in the order of Rs 190 crores.

Judge Deo had ordered interim relief of Rs 350 crores which the Madhya Pradesh high court had reduced to Rs 250 crores. In the discussions that will follow it is clear the one-time relief will entail a substantial outlay in the region of Rs 250 to 350 crores at least.

Third, the announcement takes the minimum number of people exposed to the methyl iso-cyanide (MIC) as non-negotiable. At an average of four members per family, the minimum incidence of victimage exceeds 4,00,000 [as published] people and the actual personal injury claims already filed exceed 1,00,000 [as published]. This recognition of a non-negotiable incidence of victimage is a significant breakthrough in the struggle for justice.

The significance will become clear when we recall that in the May 4 decision explaining the basis of the February settlement, the court had stated the amount (\$470 million) stood justified by the assessment of about 3,000 dead and 40,000 seriously injured. The Madhya Pradesh government in the supreme court went so far as to

maintain that the number of people seriously injured and disabled was as low as 23 out of the 300,000 it had medically examined.

A decision, which recognised the rights of people living in 36 municipal wards directly exposed to the MIC leakage, proceeds on the simple fact of the high toxicity levels of one of the world's most lethal chemicals. Both scientific commonsense and considerations of justice sustain this minimal estimate of the victimage.

Fourth, the government regards conferral of immunities from criminal proceedings given to UCC and UCIL officials as unsustainable on an "important matter of principle" under which the "constitutional and legal rights of victims to seek judicial remedies as are available to them under the law of the land in respect of compoundable and non-compoundable criminal cases cannot be bartered away." In its December 22 decision, the court had itself pointed out that the Act does not empower such immunities and the petitions, now awaiting hearing, also make the same point.

In keeping with the parental role of the state the announcement indicates that the government will now support the arguments canvassed in petitions yet to be heard. This raises questions concerning the validity of the settlement and the adequacy of the amount.

No doubt many questions will arise, especially in the minds of those who favoured the settlement and thought, for one reason or the other, that it was just and it put an end to the litigation.

The first question is whether the Union of India, being a party to the settlements, can now "reverse" its position. The second is whether Carbide is bound to remain within the jurisdiction of the court.

The latter question can, clearly, be answered in the affirmative. The Union Carbide stands directed by the May 12, 1986 order of Judge Keenan (confirmed by the court of appeals) to abide by the "final" decision of the Indian court. Under the supreme court rules and procedures, a review petition may be filed by the parties affected by the decision. The decision becomes final only upon the disposal of the review.

A seven-judge bench in the Antulay case has also held that the supreme court of India has inherent powers to complete justice in the self same proceedings where violations of fundamental rights appear entailed.

The answer to the first question can be found in the May 4 and December 22 decisions, where the court has left the issue of the adequacy of the amount to the presentation of "new materials" suggestive of any inadequacy. The government (under the Bhopal Act) remains duty-bound to consider such material.

Both the pre-existing materials before the supreme court in the petitions filed by Dr Nishit Vohra and Dr Anil Sadgopal and the recent survey of the health status of Bhopal survivors co-ordinated by Dr S. C. Sathyamala,

Dr Nitish Vohra and Mr K. Satish entitled Against All Odds document the continuing effects of the MIC exposure. When the Union, in response to its parental role and the directions of the court, considers this material as *prima facie* suggestive of the inadequacy of the amount settled and announces its decision to place it before the court, it is not "reversing" the settlement by a political decision but merely discharging its duty to the court.

The December 22 decision entitles the Union to engage in a bona fide representation of the claims of the victims. The announcement achieves precisely this. The court has clarified that there is "no question of the Central government acting as a court in respect of claims." This means that the issues of the standard of inability and the quantum of damages have to be decided by the judicial process. The court has further ruled that the Act prescribes neither.

Clearly the announcement does not unilaterally settle all these questions. They have to be adequately argued before the court by both sides. Union Carbide may maintain that the review petition should not be entertained. It is for the supreme court to reach a just decision on the basis of various arguments.

The metaphor of "reversal" of the settlement is misleading. All that has happened is that the Union has indicated to the public and the Union Carbide the strategy it now wishes to follow. People, who ask whether there is any "precedent" for this announcement, should indeed be asking the question whether there is any precedent in the world where a sovereign notified its intention to its adversary well ahead of finding its forensic strategies.

Carbide has more than due notice. It cannot complain of violation of the process. Indian law allows it all the opportunities to argue why the settlement orders should not be reopened. The announcement is an invitation to fair play and that is how it should be regarded by all concerned.

Outcome of All-Party Conference on Electoral Reform

46001217 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 10 Jan 90 p 9

[Article: "Government To Set Up Panel To Recommend Poll Reforms"]

[Text] New Delhi, Jan. 9—The Central Government is to set up a Committee to recommend necessary changes in the electoral law so that they can be pushed through early. This Committee will consider the views expressed by the participants at the All-Party Conference on Electoral Reforms, a paper to be prepared by the Government dealing with the issues raised, the recommendations of the Election Commission and on the basis of these make its own suggestions which will in turn be considered once again by another all-party conference.

The decision to set up this committee as also a broad agreement on certain aspects of electoral reforms was the significant outcome of the All-Party Conference on Electoral Reforms which was held here today under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh. Several Cabinet Ministers, the Chief Election Commissioner [CEC], Mr. R.V.S. Peri Sastri and the former CEC, Mr. Sakhder, and representatives of 22 parties participated in the conference. The Congress(I) did not participate as a party on the ground that it did not have sufficient time to study the background paper. However, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker, Mr. Shankaranand and Mr. Pawan Kumar Bansal—all Congress(I) MPs—did attend the conference.

Briefing the press at the conclusion of the conference, the Union Law Minister, Mr. Dinesh Goswami, said the Government would prepare a paper dealing with the issues raised and outlining the Government's thinking on them. In particular, this paper would take into account the demands for a second look at the electoral system and the question of state funding of elections. This paper along with supporting documents, including the views expressed by the various parties and recommendations of the Election Commission, if any, would be given to the Committee which is to be formed. The Committee's recommendations would be circulated to the parties and finally considered by a second all-party conference.

Mr. Goswami said he was not in a position to comment on the likely composition of the Committee, nor would it necessarily be a parliamentary committee made up of officials, or Cabinet members or experts. However, it would ultimately be necessary to take in persons who had in-depth knowledge of electoral matters. This Committee would be formed at the earliest and Mr. Goswami expressed the hope that they would also give their recommendations expeditiously.

"Without going into the time-frame I can emphasise that we are committed to bringing electoral reforms at the earliest", Dr. Goswami said, adding that he could not give any commitment that the committee would finish its work before the budget session of Parliament.

The issues regarding change in the electoral system needs to be considered by the Committee since the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] spokesman, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Mr. L. K. Advani respectively, strongly advocated the adoption of the system of proportional representation and elections with the mixed list system. Mr. Shiv Shanker, speaking for himself and not on behalf of the Congress(I), also said that the possibility of giving primacy to the party and not the individuals should be explored.

State funding of polls: There was a divergence of opinion on the question of introducing state funding of elections, Mr. Goswami pointed out. Some of the participants felt that state funding would be necessary to curb the influence of money power. Some others were of the view that state funding would only be over and above private funding and that this measure would not hence ensure

that money power would no longer be decisive. There was, however, a broad measure of agreement that assistance from the State, if any should be in kind.

Points on which, according to Mr. Goswami, there was a wide measure of agreement included the introduction of voter-identity cards, rotation of reserved seats, phased delimitation of constituencies without increasing the total number, strengthening of the election Commission, appointment of ad hoc judges to facilitate the expeditious disposal of election petitions and measures to deal with non-serious candidates. Other matters on which there was broad agreement included that of giving more representation to women, ensuring statutory backing for the model code of conduct, implementation of the Election Commission's recommendations on booth-capturing, fixing of a statutory limit for the holding of by-elections and a review of the anti-defection law.

Some points in the anti-defection law needed a fresh look and it had to be seen whether the power of disqualification should be left to the Speaker. It had also to be seen whether disqualification on the basis of non-compliance with the party whip should continue in a context where there was little inner democracy in various parties. Participants felt that the Election Commission should be made a multi-member body but there were some differences of opinion on the methods of selection of Election Commissioners. The question of giving more facilities to the commission, like a separate secretariat and additional staff, had also to be considered.

Mr. Goswami defended the non-continuation of the terms of the two Election Commissioners who were appointed just before the Lok Sabha polls on the ground that this was not a removal from office but merely a termination of their services at the end of the contingency which led to their appointment. Discussions were also held on the measures which could be taken to eliminate non-serious candidates.

Election Panel Restored To One-Member Body

*46001226 Madras THE HINDU
in English 3 Jan 90 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 2 Jan—The controversial decision of the Rajiv Gandhi Government to strengthen the Election Commission by appointing two Election Commissioners in addition to the Chief Election Commissioner [CEC] has been reversed and the Election Commission restored to its earlier position of a single-member body.

A Presidential notification to this effect was issued yesterday, following which Mr S. S. Dhanoa and Mr V. S. Seigell, the Election Commissioners, were removed from their post today.

The Reason

The reason adduced for restoring the Election Commission to the position of a single-member body was that the

present functional requirements do not warrant a multi-member body. The real reason, however, is that the decision to appoint a retired IPS [Indian Police Service] officer and a retired IAS [Indian Administrative Service] officer by the Congress(I) Government on the eve of the Lok Sabha poll had aroused suspicion among non-Congress(I) parties that it was meant to influence the Election Commission's decisions during the poll in favour of Congress(I) candidates. At his first press conference after assuming office, the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh had said the appointment of the two Election Commissioners in addition to the CEC would be reviewed.

The Presidential notification rescinding the appointment of the two Additional Election Commissioners is so worded as to make it appear that this action has not been taken just to spite the previous Government, but on the basis of functional requirements. Under the Constitution, the President is empowered to appoint as many Election Commissioners as he deems necessary to cope with the work. When the two additional Election commissioners were appointed it was justified on the ground that the work load had increased. Now the appointments have been rescinded on the ground that the work load is no longer such as to warrant more than one member.

Official sources said that the electoral rolls had been revised and general elections had been already held for the Lok Sabha and some State Assemblies. Further, it was noted, the Constitution Amendment Bill for Panchayats and Nagarparikas which contained provisions to entrust additional work load to the Election Commission had also lapsed.

PTI reports:

The National Front, which was in the Opposition then, and the other Opposition parties had voiced serious concern over the way the two Election Commissioners had allegedly sought to promote the interests of the then ruling Congress(I) during the elections.

Mr Dhanoa, a former Union Secretary and a member of the Bihar State Public Service Commission, and Mr Seigell, a former Joint Director of the Intelligence Bureau, had assumed office one day before the announcement of the general elections.

Asked about the Presidential order, Mr Seigell, who was leaving for home, said it would not be proper for him to say anything.

Composition of Parliament Consultative Panels Reported

Singh Heads Defense

*46001231 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 19 Jan 90 p 7*

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Jan (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, who is also the defence minister, will be

the chairman of the consultative committee of members of Parliament for the ministry of defence, it was announced here today.

Members from the Lok Sabha who are also members of the committee are Mr Sarwar Hussain Khan, Mr Rao Birenda Singh, Mr Harsh Vardhan, Mr Amal Datta, Mr Ram Sajwan, Mr Jaswant Singh, Mr Baburao Paranjpe, Mr Sukhdeo Nandaji Kale, Mr T. Bala Goud, Mr V.N. Gadgil, Mr Madhavrao Scindia, Mr Yashwantrao Gadak Patil, Mr P.K. Thungon, Mr Kamal Choudhry, Mr Shikiho Sema and Mr Mohammed Hassan Commander.

The committee members from the Rajya Sabha are Mr Mohinder Singh Lather, Mr M. Padmanabham, Mr A. Nallashivan, Mr J.S. Aurora, Mr Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh, Mr Suresh Kalmadi and Mr Murlidhar Bhandare.

Communications Panel

The government today constituted the parliamentary consultative committee for the minister of communication under the chairmanship of the minister, Mr K.P. Unnikrishnan.

The members of the committee are Mr Ram Prasad Chaudhary, Mr Chandra Mohan Singh Negi, Mr Dasai Chowdhary, Mr Kapil Dev Shastri, Mr Satya Pal Singh Yadav, Mr Anil Shastri, Mr Radha Mohan Singh, Mr Prem Kumar Dhumal, Mr Sukhendra Singh, Mr Hannan Mollah, Mr Manoranjan Sur, Mr Sanat Kumar Mandal, Prof P.J. Kurien, Mr Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Mr Harish Rawat, Mr N. Tombi Singh, Mr Uttam Rathod, Mr P.M. Sayeed, Mr Ram Lal Rahi and Miss Maya Wati (all members of the Lok Sabha), Mr Dipen Ghosh, Mr Jagat Pal Singh, Mr Rudra Pratap Singh, Mr Ram Naresh Yadav, Miss Alia Zuberi and Mr Satyanarayana (all members of the Rajya Sabha).

I&B Panel

The parliamentary consultative committee for the ministry of information and broadcasting was formed under the chairmanship of the minister for information and broadcasting, Mr P. Upendra.

Members of the council are Dr Shakeelur Rehman, Prof Shailendra Nath Shrivastav, Mr Phool Chand Verma, Mr Rameshwar Patidar, Prof Rupchand Pal, Mrs Geeta Mukherjee, Mrs Uma Gajapathi Raju, Mr Chiranji Lal Sharma, Mr R.M. Bhowe, Mr Jagpal Singh, Mrs J. Jamuna, Mr Giridhar Gomango, Mr K.R. Narayanan, Mr Vidyadhar Gokhale all members of the Lok Sabha, Mr Satya Prakash Malaviya, Mr Rao Gopala Rao, Mrs Kanak Mukherjee, Mrs Vithalbhai Patel, Miss Sushila Tiria, Mrs Amrita Pritam, Mr K.G. Thimme Gowde and Mr R.R. Sahu all members of the Rajya Sabha.

Energy Committee

The consultative committee of members of Parliament for the ministry of energy was constituted with the minister, Mr Arif Mohammed Khan, as chairman.

The members of the committee from the Lok Sabha are: Mr Ravi Narayan Pani, Bhabani Shankar Hota, Ram Naresh Singh, Jorawar Singh, R.L.P. Verma, Haradhan Roy, Anil Basu, A.K. Roy, Oscar Fernandes, Kalp Nath Rai and Shashibhai Jamod.

The members from the Rajya Sabha are: K.G. Maheshwarappa, E. Balanandan, Chaturnan Mishra, Naresh Puglia, Ganeshwar Kusum, Bandhu Mahto and Man Mohan Mathur.

Civil Aviation Panel

46001231 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 17 Jan 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 16 Jan—The government has set up a consultative committee of members of Parliament on civil aviation.

The Lok Sabha members included in the panel, headed by the minister for civil aviation, Mr Arif Mohammed Khan, are Mr Santosh Bhartiya, Mr H.S. Banera, Mr Shanti Lal Patel, Mr Bengali Singh, Mr Hira Bhai, Mr Subedar Prasad Singh, Mr Mahadeepak Singh, Mr M. Vijayaraghavan, Mr R. Gundu Rao, Prof K.V. Thomas, Mr N. Sunderaraj, Mr L. Adaikal Raj, Mr Vakkom Purushothaman, Mr S. Singharavadivel, Mrs Sheila Kaul, Mr R. Muthiah and Mr G.M. Banatwala.

The Rajya Sabha members include Dr (Mrs) Sarojini Mahishi, Mrs Manorama Pandey, Mrs Pratibha Singh, Mr Surendra Singh, Mr P.N. Sukul, Mr B.R. Manhar, Mr Mohammed Khaleelur Rehman and Mr Ashok Nath Verma.

Text of National Front Government Action Plan

46001224 *New Delhi PATRIOT* in English 2 Jan 90 p 5

[Text] Following is the text of the Action Plan announced by the Government today:

The manifesto of the National Front [NF] has presented a concrete programme of action. Ministries and departments have been requested to identify priority areas of action for implementation in a time-bound manner. The first set of points on which the action is underway is listed below.

Ministries and departments will prepare comprehensive and detailed action plans on these and other items and announce them separately. Implementation of the action plans will be a matter of highest priority and will be closely monitored.

An outlay of at least 50 percent of investible resources in the agricultural and rural sectors of the economy will be ensured starting with the annual plan for 1990-91.

In order to give farmers a remunerative price for their produce, the following changes are being made in the method of computing support prices:

(1) Introduce a formula for adjusting support prices for inflation from the date of announcement to the time of market.

(11) Labour will be costed on the basis of actual wages paid or minimum wages whichever is higher instead of the present system where it is costed on the basis of actual wages paid when there are lower than the minimum wages.

(111) Include an element of managerial or entrepreneurial labour in the family labour input and cost this labour at a higher rate than agricultural labour.

The Ministry of Agriculture will appoint an expert committee to recommend ways of implementing these changes and their recommendations will be taken into account in fixing support price for the next Kharif season.

"The right to work" will be made a fundamental right and the necessary bill for amending the constitution will be introduced in the forthcoming Budget Session. An employment guarantee scheme will be implemented progressively.

A comprehensive constitutional amendment bill of Panchayati Raj will be prepared and introduced during the Budget Session of Parliament, after discussion with the Chief Ministers.

The Government places the highest importance on land reforms. All land reforms legislation will be incorporated in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution. Land reforms will continue to be an agenda in the proposed inter-state council. A meeting of the Chief Ministers will be held by April 1990 to finalise a programme of land reform implementation.

A scheme for debt relief up to Rs 10,000 to small, marginal and landless cultivators and artisans will be finalised during the forthcoming Budget Session.

A long-term fiscal policy will be presented during the Budget Session.

The Government is committed to curbing ostentatious and elitist consumption and the measures required in this regard will be taken early.

With a view to pushing up exports in a big way and plugging loopholes in the import-export rules and simplifying the procedures:

(I) A new three year import-export policy will be announced on 1 April 1990.

(II) Simplified pre-shipment documentation will be finalised and announced on 1 March 1990.

(III) Export policy will encourage the exports of items with high net foreign exchange content.

The ministry of defence shall appoint a committee to examine modalities for implementing a scheme for realising the NF's commitment to the principle of "one rank one pension" for ex-servicemen. The committee will submit its report by 31 March.

A National Security Council under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister will be set up by April 1990.

A comprehensive Bill on Electoral Reforms will be introduced in the Budget Session of Parliament.

A high level judicial commission will be set up for appointments and transfers of judges. The necessary Constitutional Amendment Bill is proposed to be introduced in the budget session.

A bill to amend the legal Services Authorities Act will be introduced in the Budget Session with a view to strengthening Lok Adalats and legal aid programmes.

A bill for setting up an autonomous corporation for TV and Radio has already been introduced on 29 December 1989. It is proposed to have the bill enacted after a national debate during the Budget Session.

The Government will, by amending the Constitution, guarantee the 'right to information' as a fundamental right. The bill for the purpose will be introduced during the Budget Session.

New bills will be brought in during the Budget Session to amend the Indian Post Office Act and the Indian Telegraph Act, ensuring that the citizens' right to privacy is respected. The Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill, 1986, will be withdrawn.

The National Integration Council for reviewing issues relating to national integration, and to make recommendations thereon will be reconstituted.

A meeting of Chief Ministers to consider this matter will be held in January 1990. The proposal in this regard will be finalised thereafter and the first meeting of the council convened before April 1990.

An amendment of the Official Secrets Act to ensure the citizen's right to information will be carried out. A bill for this purpose will be introduced in the Budget Session.

An inter-state council will be set up after the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assemblies of the States. The process of eliciting views of the State Governments on the nature of duties to be performed by the inter-state council, and its organisation and procedures, will be started straightaway.

A committee will be set up before the end of this month to examine the recommendations of the Gujral Committee on Urdu.

A scheme to ensure that special courts are promptly set up for expeditious disposal of cases relating to caste and communal riots and atrocities will be finalised before March this year.

The Prevention of Atrocities Act to check atrocities against members of the Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes, which is still to be notified, will be made effective from 31 January after a meeting with State Governments.

The existing programmes for the urban poor will be substantially expanded from April this year. These include provision of basic services and facilities in slums, night shelter for pavement dwellers in major cities, housing for the poor and liberation and rehabilitation of scavengers in small and medium towns according to a time-bound programme covering 500 towns annually.

A commission on women will be set up by the Budget Session to ensure due representation of women in all spheres, to check discrimination, for enforcement of the rights of women and redressal of their grievances.

An all-India conference of youth leaders will be convened by March to chalk-out a programme of involvement of youth in nation-building.

Military Situation on Sino-Indian Border Reviewed

46001229 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 1 Jan 90 p 9

[Article by Yogendra Bali]

[Text] Chunghnag (North Sikkim), 31 Dec—Sitting at the Himalayan top of the world, the Indian Army in the north and northeastern Sikkim sectors yesterday faces their Chinese adversaries resolutely across the highest peaks, passes and plateaus in the forward posture.

Their message is clear. There can be no repetition of the 1986 Wangdung incident with which the Sondrom Che Valley in Arunachal Pradesh shot into world headlines.

The reasons for this new confidence is threefold. Firstly, the Indian Army is in control of seven major and several 'gentle' high altitude passes in this area. These passes range across the major peaks stretching from Tanker La and Dorji La to Nathu La.

Secondly, entrenched eye-ball to eye-ball with the Chinese on the world's highest Kerang plateau, they have advantage of having established a much shorter logistics line compared with the Chinese.

Thirdly, the Signals Corps of the Indian Army has established a multi-tier set-up atop peaks and the plateau region which allows them instant communications facility with the rear commands in the north and north-east, as well as Delhi itself.

Backed by these factors, the Indian Army today has a well-planned deployment of small and medium arms equipped mountain divisions at the highest altitudes. Their fire-power includes 105 mm medium artillery guns and Bofors batteries supported by sophisticated electronic systems. They have established on-the-high-altitude training and firing ranges for both the artillery and infantry.

More than all that, they have the full confidence and support from the civilian population in the Lachen,

Lachung, Nathula and adjoining regions on the Indian side. That is something which the Chinese cannot claim to have from the Tibetan population on their side of the high altitude areas, notably the Chumbi valley.

Some of the Indian Army positions in the highest snow-clad Himalayan regions here were for the first time exposed to the free media this month. Defence correspondents were allowed access to all the three regions in the north and north-eastern sectors, including Jatao top, Giogong and beyond in the Kerang plateau area and forward positions in the Nathu La region.

Apparently the decision was motivated by the desire to communicate to the media and the rest of the country, the substantial change in the complexion and character of Indian defences in the world's highest war zone. Here most regions spread altitudes between 10,000 feet and 23,000 feet.

Most parts here are snowbound most of the year. The Indian troops have been fully acclimatised and trained to survive and strike despite the biting cold with temperatures falling between 15°C and 50°C below zero under 200 km speed roaring winds.

A Corps commander in the region, Lt Gen Jagat Mohan Singh called by many the 'sky-hopping general,' remarked to a group of visiting defence correspondents at Tanker La, "We are firmly at the watershed and there is no shedding us out of here." He was obviously underlining the fact that while the Indian Army had perched high, scrupulously avoiding violation of the international border between India and the Tibetan plateau under the control of the Chinese, the Chinese too had equally scrupulously avoided making any incursion into the Indian territory after October 1986.

Lt Gen Singh has acquired the affectionate title of 'sky-hopping general' because he frequently turns up by helicopter, jings or pony at one or the other forward Himalayan position of his mountain troops, to be with them, to get on-the-spot feedback on development and give a pat on the back to men who are constantly out in the freezing cold at position beyond 10,000 feet.

'Dissuasive Build-Up'

However, during visits to the Keran plateau and Nathu La regions in north and north-east Sikkim, the army top brass at various levels were keen to underline the fact that Indian deployment in three areas facing China was dissuasive and not deterrent in character.

It was pointed out that in north Sikkim, the Indian Army was deployed up to Lachung and Lachen till 1986. Consequent to the Wangdung incident in 1986, the decision to adopt the forward posture by taking up defence deployment right up to the international border was taken.

The move of the Indian Army brought a sea-change in these areas of thick layers of snow below and a chill sky above. Here, on a single day, as much as 135 cm of snowfall was recorded.

The growing new and strong presence of the Indian Army on the Sino-Indian border areas theatre, has brought about a radical change in the socio-economic scenario of north Sikkim in particular. Remote areas have been opened up and in a way the rest of the country has reached out to the Lepcha, Nepali and Bhutia people of the Himalayan state like never before.

Most of the officials one met in different areas and on different positions like Brigadier Rak Kadyan, Brig J. S. Mann and Brig D. D. Joshi, responsible for high altitude artillery as well as infantry operations, endorsed the view of the Corps commander that the dissuasive posture of the Indian deployment in these regions had clearly left the Chinese with no low cost, no loss operation option any more.

They pointed out that the lesson learnt by the Indian army during the 1962 India-China conflict here had been a blessing in disguise, because today we are matched with the Chinese infantry and superior to them in artillery deployment and considerably superior in our communication and logistics organisation.

Army officers stated again and again that they were in a position to convey the message to the adversary across the frontier that though our deployment is not designed as an aggressive deterrent, it is sure a firm and effective dissuasive posture to ensure that any military adventure by the enemy in these Himalayan regions could not be turned now into a Vietnam or Somrong Che affair. Our biggest secret weapon in this region is our tough, trained and well-equipped high altitude military manpower, our jawans.

Informal discussions with officers, jawans and even prominent civilians in places like Siliguri, Gangtok and deployment areas strengthened the impression that our firm military presence on the watershed and the areas around, as well as high foot mobility in the Himalayas, could be an important plus factor for our political leaders to engage in any negotiations and undertake steps for peaceful normalisation of relations.

Priority To Relations With Iran Said 'Surprising'

46001212 Madras THE HINDU
in English 22 Jan 90 p 9

[Article by F. J. Khergamvala: "Top Priority to Iran Intriguing"]

[Text] Manama (Bahrain), Jan. 21—It is quite surprising that the new National Front Government makes its first high-level foray beyond India's immediate neighbourhood to Iran even before completing direct political-level talks with the neighbours.

What bilateral issue compels the External Affairs Minister, Mr. I. K. Gujral, to visit Teheran so early in the innings is unclear. He is going there later this month in his capacity as the Co-Chairman of the Indo-Iranian Joint Commission. It is true that this body has not met since 1987, but there is some other imperative that has made this early trip necessary. In fact, the word among Indian officials is that the Iran trip was being scheduled for priority even ahead of the journey to the Maldives 10 days ago. That India's chief diplomat will spend four, possible five days in Iran, imparts a full official bilateral character to the visit.

Influence in Islamic world: Indications are that it is Iran's nuisance value in Islamic forums that is the primary compulsion for the Government to cloak a bilateral visit in the garb of a not-immediately-important Joint Commission meeting. Though the Government can hardly admit this, the need to prevent Teheran exploiting in the Islamic world the worsening situation in Kashmir appears to be the overriding reason for striding over Pakistan to Iran. Pressures from a particular business group on the National Front Government to continue the previous Government's policy on Iran are also being spoken of as a subsidiary reason.

The political compulsion for Mr. Gujral's trip is not without its merits. Iran has often exploited any kind of extraordinary occurrence involving Islam and Muslims to heap scorn especially on conservative, Western-inclined and tactful Arab regimes for neglecting to come to the defence of Muslims everywhere. The handling of the Rushdie affair last year and the condemnation of the killing of Muslims in Bhagalpur before the Indian general elections are cases in point.

If it is the Government in Islamabad or factions in Pakistan that are goading Islamic entities into anti-Indian statements, the choice of Teheran is appropriate because the Arab Governments generally do not succumb to such overtures from Islamabad.

Accusation of Cong(I) Govt: The spiritual leader, Mr. Ali Khamenei, specifically blamed the Congress(I) Government for the Bhagalpur violence "...And the Government, if not actually helping the enemies of Islam, has remained silent and watched the carnage of Muslims", Mr. Khamenei said in an ill-disguised direct accusation. The Speaker, Mr. Mehdi Karroubi, commented on "the killings of Muslims in such countries as India, Palestine and Afghanistan...". He did not consider equating Bhagalpur with Israeli persecution of Palestinians insulting enough. He further suggested the formation of Hizbollah cells to defend Muslims everywhere.

Mr. Gujral's presence in Teheran provides New Delhi with the first opportunity to educate these clerics of the complexities in India as well as caution them against such outbursts. It may be wise not to forego this opportunity on the ground that the insults were heaped on the earlier Government. Given half a chance, in Kashmir or elsewhere, Teheran is likely to jump to it and ridicule

other Islamic Governments for not reacting likewise. The radical, Kayhan International, called for "diplomatic or economic moves against India," meaning sanctions.

'No interference': Iranian officials explain that such comments do not fall under the definition of "interference in internal affairs" as they are honour bound to condemn attacks on Muslims everywhere. Who is responsible is immaterial, they argue. It is the Government's responsibility to protect such minorities.

All these lofty ideals would have carried some credibility had Teheran continued to express its anguish at the Soviet government's handling of the disturbances in Azerbaijan. The latest flare-up is a violent peaking of almost continuous rioting since and before last July. It is of some significance that immediately after the visit to Moscow last June by the Iranian President, Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani, (not yet elected then), Radio Teheran, the press and the Mullahs desisted totally from saying anything anti-Soviet on an issue that had throughout the Gulf war given grist to the official organs for launching forth on the Shaitan-e-Sagir—the small satan.

Mr. Gujral is unlikely to get involved in the ironing out of trade, economics and cultural problems, but Iran may be reminded to observe the terms of the September consular and visa agreement more scrupulously. Because of the primary reason for the visit, the style of diplomacy of the new Government and the envoy's own professional aplomb the point may be made with finesse, but the reference would clearly be to the clause concerning consular access to each other's nationals.

Execution of Sikh in Iran: In December, a Sikh in Iran was executed on a charge of drug smuggling. Prior to the announcement of the sentence having been carried out, the Indian Embassy in Teheran had repeatedly asked the Foreign Ministry in Teheran for information about the nature of the sentence passed. At no stage was India informed of the sentence. This clearly flouts the September agreement. Teheran too has certain grievances about New Delhi not observing the spirit of the agreement.

It is unclear if Mr. Gujral will meet leaders of the eight Iranian groups kept out of the 'Interim Government in Afghanistan'. Much was made of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. S. K. Singh's meeting with them last September. They sought India's support, but with official Teheran against an Indian role, such meetings are more important from the point of form rather than of content.

Press Told Details of India, Maldives Talks
46001215 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 15 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] Male, 14 Jan (PTI)—India and Maldives today agreed in principle to abolish visas for travel between the

two countries to become the first SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] member-states to take such a step, the external affairs minister, Mr Inder Kumar Gujral, said at a press conference here today.

Mr Gujral also announced that the two countries would sign two memoranda of understanding tomorrow at the conclusion of the first Indo-Maldives joint commission meeting to enable the Maldives to receive meteorological data using the Indian national satellite (INSAT) and receive Doordarshan programmes for rebroadcast on the national television network here.

To provide a greater access to this island nation, the Indian Airlines would start operating direct flights from Bombay within 10 days or so, Mr Gujral pointed out.

He was talking to newsmen after attending the foundation stone-laying ceremony by the Maldives President, Mr Maumoom Abdul Gayoom, of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital.

To be completed in two years time, the 200-bed hospital would cost Rs 20 crores in the form of Indian Government assistance. The construction work has been awarded to India's National Building Construction Corporation (NBCC).

President Gayoom, speaking on the occasion, recalled that the Indian Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, was associated with the project in its inception stage as the then finance minister in 1986.

He said trouble-free relations between India and the Maldives could serve as a model to other SAARC member-states. He accepted an invitation extended by Mr Gujral on behalf of the Prime Minister to visit New Delhi in mid-March.

Mr Gujral, in his speech, said the Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital was the largest project undertaken by India under the foreign assistance programme.

Replying to questions at the press conference on the third day of his visit here, Mr Gujral said India favoured the Maldives hosting the fifth SAARC summit this year as the island nation was celebrating the 25th anniversary of its independence.

He pointed out that he had suggested to the Sri Lankan foreign minister, Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, to settle the question of hosting the summit in consultation with Maldivian leaders.

Asked about the Maldives support to Pakistan's proposal for a nuclear-weapons free zone in the Indian Ocean zone, Mr Gujral replied that the issue did not figure during his talks here.

Joint Statement on India, Nepal Talks Reported

46001223 Calcutta **THE TELEGRAPH**
in English 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 5 Jan—India and Nepal have “appreciably narrowed down” differences during their two-day talks but failed to reach a decision on the wide range of issues discussed.

A joint statement issued at the end of the Nepal foreign minister, Mr S.K. Upadhyaya's meetings with the external affairs minister, Mr I.K. Gujral, said “broad agreement” had been reached on all the components of bilateral relations.

The joint statement, however, did not mention the steps to be taken to settle the nine-month-long impasse following the lapse of the trade and transit treaties between the two countries.

The two sides had progressed towards a “mutually acceptable and mutually beneficial settlement of all outstanding issues,” the statement said.

While both sides now had a greater appreciation of each other's concerns and were willing to move towards working out an amicable solution, much would depend on the type of gestures the two governments made in the near future. This would have an impact on further progress that could take place in restoring the once-friendly relations between the two countries.

Mr Upadhyaya invited Mr Gujral to visit Nepal and the dialogue is expected to continue when Mr Gujral visits Kathmandu.

During the wide-ranging and comprehensive talks, both sides presented their positions and concerns, resulting in “greater mutual understanding of each other's interests and concerns and of the problems affecting their bilateral relations that needed early resolutions.”

A number of obstacles and suspicions on the tangled issues of security concerns of both countries, trade and transit, harassment of Indian nationals, discriminatory tariffs and the Nepal zone of peace proposal were discussed.

The Nepali side conveyed its request that eight more transit points be opened along the Indo-Nepali border. Other immediate concerns for the Nepal side was the resumption of supply of essential commodities and fuel, particularly POL (petroleum oil and lubricants), according to sources.

India, on the other hand, received some assurances on its security concerns and removal of the discriminatory tariffs on Indian goods that were imposed last year. While it was accepted that the 1.5 lakh Indians living in Nepal could not be equated with the Nepali population living in India because of Nepal's size, there had to be cooperation between the two countries in the spirit of the 1950 treaty of peace and friendship, the sources said.

Both sides were now expected to make some tangible gestures as demonstration of their sincerity of purpose. These were likely to take the form of opening more transit points and lowering of the additional import duties on Indian goods. Both parties agreed that the 1950 treaty which provided for the special relationship would remain the bedrock of the relations between the two countries.

Indo-Bangladesh Memorandum on Joint Ventures Signed

46001216 New Delhi **PATRIOT**
in English 11 Jan 90 p 9

[Article: “Indo-Bangla MOU on Joint-Ventures Signed”]

[Text] Prospects of cooperation between the two countries in medium and high-technology areas were also discussed.

Dhaka, Jan 10 (PTI)—The Indian Confederation of Engineering Industry (CEI) and the Bangladesh Shilpa Bank have signed here a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for cooperation in joint ventures, transfer of technology and co-investment.

Terming the three-year MOU, the first of its kind with a Bangladesh Bank, signed yesterday, as “unique”, CEI delegation leader Aloke Mukherjee, expressed optimism that the efforts will yield definite results opening a new atmosphere of cooperation in industry and economy.

The 17-member delegation signed a second MOU with the Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce and held talks with the Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Chittagong Chamber of Commerce and attended a four day regional investment forum here.

Sixteen fields were identified for cooperation between the Indian companies and 39 Bangladeshi concerns on wide-ranging areas, Mr Mukherjee said.

Mr Mukherjee said two firms—and Indian and a Bangladeshi—had entered into an agreement for the production of tractors and agricultural implements also to explore the feasibility of manufacturing Light Commercial Vehicles in Bangladesh.

Their discussions centred round cooperation in medium technology as also certain high-technology areas to suit the needs of Bangladesh, he said.

The areas identified included the manufacture of cement, hydraulic equipment, industrial gears, raising, computer software, aluminium foils and fittings, furnace and combustion equipment, cables and cable products, medical equipment and road rollers.

An agreement was reached also to look into details of feasibility in these areas and Bangladesh shilpa bank assured to clear the formalities expeditiously, Mr Mukherjee said.

Bangladesh will hold an exhibition of Indian machinery and technology at the end of this year while Bangladeshi industrialists and entrepreneurs have been invited to attend the Indian Engineering Trade Fair to be held in Delhi in February next year.

Referring to the trade imbalance between India and Bangladesh Mr Sekandar Ali, Managing Director of Bangladesh Shilpa Bank said the deficit could be removed through joint ventures investment in Bangladesh with suitable buy back arrangement.

United Communist Party Urges Defeat of Communalism

46001221 Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*
in English 7 Jan 90 p 7

[Report from our Staff Correspondent]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, 6 Jan—The United Communist Party of India [UCPI] today appealed to the CPI [Communist Party of India] and CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] to "reflect on where they were going" with their virtual alliance with the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] at the Centre. Speaking to reporters here, the UCPI general secretary, Mr Mohit Sen, said that the CPI(M) and the CPI should shed their anti-Congress(I) stand and work to defeat communalism. Mr Sen was, however, critical of the CPI(M) dubbing it as the last remaining "Stalinist party" at a time when changes in Europe showed that Communism was getting rid of Stalinism.

He was more restrained in his comments about the CPI and stated that the party had been fighting Stalinism earlier but it had now been reduced to a "B" team of the CPI(M).

Launching an attack against the National Front Government, Mr Sen said that being inherently unstable it had failed to tackle the "so-called kidnapping" of the Home Minister's daughter and the aggravation of terrorism in Punjab. He described Mr V.P. Singh's visit to the Golden Temple as an "absurd melodrama." He has given enough indication to terrorists that nothing will happen to them and they have now started entering gurdwaras with arms.

The UCPI leader was visibly annoyed when he was asked questions about his party's alliance with the Congress(I) and the Muslim League. Asked whether the UCPI's equation with the Muslim League was not similar in a way to that of the CPI and the CPI(M) with the BJP, Mr Sen retorted that his party's links with the Muslim League was chiefly to fight the Dravidian ideology of the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)].

The Socialist Unity Centre of India has decided to contest 13 seats in the coming Assembly elections in Orissa.

CPI-M Tells Stand on Developments in Soviet Bloc

Politburo Statement

46001210 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 17 Jan 90 p 22

[Article: "Blow for World Socialism: CPM"]

[Text] New Delhi, Jan. 16: The CPM [Marxist Communist Party] politburo has said that the recent developments in eastern Europe "constitute a setback for world socialism and create possibilities for new counter-revolutionary attack."

But it expressed the confidence that the people in these countries would, "from their own experience", resist all attempts at restoring capitalism.

In a two-day session, which concluded last Saturday, the politburo said that the European developments were, in the main, due distortions and deviations from the principles of scientific socialism, "exploited to the hilt by imperialism and forces of internal reaction."

The party asserted "emphatically" that recent happenings repudiated neither Marxism-Leninism nor socialism, but demonstrated how distortions and lack of timely intervention to correct them could lead to such consequences.

It said in the 40 years under socialism the people of East Europe had "eliminated the curse of deprivation that capitalism perpetuates."

The politburo also expressed deep concern at the "disturbing" turn the inter-ethnic conflicts were taking within the USSR. It said it had decided to make a thorough study of the recent development in socialist countries and prepare a document that would be placed before the party's central committee in April, in order to reach a "fuller assessment."

It said that under communist leadership countries of East Europe had brought about "fundamental social transformation which ended the rule of the old exploiting classes and laid the basis for socialist advance."

It noted that as a result of victory over fascism, "in which the Soviet Union played the most important role," the socialist "community of nations" emerged as a mighty force that influenced the directions of world developments in the post-war phase.

The party noted, however, that the recent events, including those in Romania, revealed "many distortions" in the building of socialism and the functioning of these socialist states. It also referred to violations of "socialist legality", and of the "Leninist norms of inner-party democracy".

Party Organ on Stalin

46001210 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 22 Dec 89 p 5

[Article: "CPM Still Has Faith in Stalin"]

[Text] Calcutta, Dec. 21: The state CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has used its organ *Ganashakti* to reaffirm its faith in Stalinism on the occasion of the 110th birth anniversary of the Soviet leader. Today's edition of the daily is full of articles eulogising Stalin's role in the communist movement.

In a front-page news item, splashed with a picture of the Marxist leader, the party's state secretary, Mr Saroj Mukherjee, has been quoted as saying, "At a time when scientific socialism is facing attacks from several fronts, it is very urgent to remember the contribution of Stalin in order to hold aloft the great banner of socialism."

Mr Mukherjee issued his appeal from the NRS Hospital where he is recuperating after a bout of asthma. He urged party supporters to take a vow to protect Marxism-Leninism. "The communist movement all over the world is indebted to Stalin," he added.

The daily carried articles by other important leaders like Mr M. Basavapunniyah, Mr B. T. Ranadive, Mr Prakash Karat and Mr Anil Biswas. Mr Karat, central-secretariat member of the party, writes: "To deny history is to renounce the future."

Mr Basavapunniyah has squarely blamed the central committee and Politburo of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] for failing to understand Lenin's remarks on the shortcomings of Stalin. According to him, this failure on the part of the Soviet leadership has cost "us" dearly.

Mr Ranadive has described the "war against Stalinism" waged in many a country as a war by proxy against Leninism itself. He has pointed out that the recent cry for individual freedom is virtually a naked advocacy for bourgeois democracy, free market and capitalism.

Papers Report Outcome of CPI National Council Meeting

Appeals on Punjab and Kashmir

46001222 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 4 Jan 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 3 Jan—The Communist Party of India (CPI) today demanded immediate implementation of the Rajiv-Longowal accord and a comprehensive national approach to Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir if the two troubled states were to remain integral part of the country.

Briefing newsmen after a four-day meeting of the National Council, the party general secretary, Mr C. Rajeshwara Rao and the deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta, said the government should take firm

steps against secessionists and terrorists and do nothing to demoralise the security forces and others fighting terrorism.

The CPI also appealed to the government to call an all-party meet immediately to discuss the situation in the two states. The CPI also wanted to discuss the Anandpur Saheb resolution of 1978 since it only wanted more autonomy to the states.

Stand on 'Khalistan'

The National Council welcomed the "declarations of the V.P. Singh government" against 'Khalistan' and secessionism and hoped it would not yield to any pressures for a "theocratic state in India." It demanded that the new government should streamline security apparatus for stepping up its campaign against terrorists and to instil confidence, ensure protection of lives and property and security for all as an administrative measure for Punjab.

Politically, the CPI is for a consensus on the disputed issues in the spirit of the Rajiv-Longowal accord and reorganisation of Centre-state relations on a truly federal system.

It welcomed the Prime Minister's visit to Amritsar but was against holding elections immediately as sought by the previous governor till an atmosphere conducive to elections there was restored.

The party also deplored the weak stand by the Akali leadership against forces of disruption and appealed to the Akali (Mann) group to oppose 'Khalistan' and condemn violence, and discharge their responsibility to the state "which yearns for peace and security."

The party also put the blame for the current scale of violence on the S.S. Ray administration. "The directions given by the Ray administration not to take action against even wanted terrorists have given a big boost to extremism. The AISSF [All India Sikh Students' Federation] leaders are stepping up their campaign of disruption and intimidation with bandh calls, open threats, misuse of religious places and calls for parallel government under cover of khalsa panchayats."

Jammu & Kashmir

The party felt that the Farooq government in the state lacked political will to meet the challenge of the extremely difficult situation and to mobilise all other patriotic sections to thwart the offensive launched by the terrorists. The situation has deteriorated sharply in the recent past, the resolution said.

"The secessionist groups have intensified their terrorist activities, the state administration appears to be paralysed, the leadership of the National Conference—the main political force in the valley—seems to be totally lacking in will to meet the challenge."

The resolution said the situation had reached a critical point mainly because the Congress(I) pursued a confrontationist policy in regard to the National Conference particularly in the last 10 to 15 years and also because the economic development of the state was neglected over the years. Despite the 1975 accord between Sheikh Abdullah and Indira Gandhi, the Congress(I)—both at the centre and the state—continued with the policy of confrontation against the Sheikh and the National Conference.

The dismissal of the Farooq government in 1983 and imposition of a "government of defectors," to share power with Congress(I) only strengthened the feeling of the Kashmiri people that the Centre would never allow them to have a government of their free choice.

Stand on Election Results

46001222 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 5 Jan 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 4 Jan—The National Council of the CPI [Communist Party of India], which adopted the review report on the Lok Sabha poll and the post-election scenario at its meeting from 29 December to 1 January, has concluded that the party would have to make changes in its policies and tactics. While generally taking a positive view of the National Front, it has warned its members, and those of the other Left parties, that they would have to be vigilant and intervene from time to time to ensure that the Front Government acted as per its manifesto.

The Lok Sabha elections and the decisive vote of the masses had put profound political changes on the agenda, the National Council said in a resolution adopted. New challenges and opportunities had been posed for the democratic movement and it was imperative for the party to make the necessary changes in its policies and tactics. In the prevailing complex situation, different forces had come to prominence in the political arena and in such a changing scenario the party would have to "project its policies and reorient its political activities to attract and mobilise the vast democratic masses in various parties."

Calling attention to the several announcements made by the National Front Government towards strengthening democracy, the CPI expressed the opinion that better consultation and coordination between the Government and the Left parties would help facilitate proper implementation of such a programme. "It is possible under the present circumstances to win some concessions for the people," the Council noted.

Not Opposition

At a briefing here, the party's deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta, clarified that while his party would mobilise the masses so that pressure was applied to

ensure that the Front implemented its policy, such pressure should not be taken as opposition to the Front Government.

In its review, the party noted with satisfaction that the objective of ousting the Congress(I) from power at the Centre had been achieved. It categorically rejected the Congress(I)'s argument that its defeat was due solely to the shilanyas movement. The "opportunist policies" followed by the previous regime, of "pretending" to protect Muslim rights while trying to "appease" Hindu communal forces, had led to an alienation of the Muslims, but this was not the only reason for the Congress(I)'s defeat. It was a decisive vote against Congress(I) 'misrule' and its 'anti-people and anti-democratic' policies which had heaped intolerable burdens on the common people. As such it was a vote for a change of government.

The CPI also described as incorrect the notion of a North-South divide in the voting pattern. In Tamil Nadu the new political equation between the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] and the Congress(I) was mainly responsible for the victory of these parties though the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] Government's mishandling of some issues had also contributed. On the other hand, the CPI was of the clear opinion that the people in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh had voted against the 'anti-people, anti-democratic and corrupt practices' of the Janata Dal and Telugu Desam Governments in the States. The party took some satisfaction in pointing out that it had repeatedly warned against these tendencies.

On the ruling Front's performance in Kerala, the CPI repeated the allegation that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] had shifted its votes in a major way to the Opposition, Congress-led United Democratic Front, to enable it to win. "This in the main resulted in tilting the balance in favour of the Congress(I) in many seats in the State."

As could have been expected, the party expressed grave concern over the performance of the BJP. These forces had engineered an atmosphere of "aggressive communal disturbances" and "religious extremism with aggressive communal propaganda during the elections." Besides this, another factor which helped the BJP much was the support received from the Janata Dal in constituencies in which they had an agreement. In Punjab the remarkable performance of the UAD [United Akali Dal] (Mann) could be attributed to the game played by the former Governor, Mr S.S. Ray, of splitting the Akali vote to the benefit of the Congress(I) and the efforts of the Congress(I) and the other Akali groups to improve their position by being soft to the Mann group. These policies had proved counter-productive, the CPI noted.

The CPI warned that the BJP which "played the Hindu card successfully in the elections" would continue this policy to try to come to power in at least five States

where elections are due. "With the leverage so obtained and with its strength in the Lok Sabha it will seek to pressure the Janata Dal Government to concede some of its communal and reactionary demands. Our party and the Left and all secular forces should do their utmost to prevent such a dangerous possibility."

Commenting on the Bahujan Samaj Party, the CPI said that while it sought to represent the voice of the most down-trodden and its fight against casteism was correct, the CPI would have to expose the wrong and erroneous nature of its ideology which prevented unity in action.

Change in Tactics

*46001222 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 6 Jan 90 p 5*

[Text] New Delhi, 5 Jan—The CPI [Communist Party of India] will make necessary changes in its "policy and tactics" in view of the "decisive vote of the masses" against the Congress(I).

The four-day national council meeting of the party which concluded on 1 January decided that it should not do anything that would bring the Congress(I) back to power.

Briefing newsmen, the party general secretary, Mr C. Rajeshwara Rao, said, "The CPI along with other Left parties, will have to be vigilant and intervene in time to ensure that the Janata Dal government acts per its manifesto. The party and the Left will have to project their stand steadfastly inside and outside Parliament on people's issues."

As the CPI is neither in the ruling side nor the Opposition, it can only pressurise the government to implement its manifesto. The party deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta, said the CPI would continue to lend support to the National Front government which had made a very positive beginning.

"The Lok Sabha elections and decisive vote of the masses have put on the agenda profound political changes. New challenges and opportunities have been posed for the democratic movement. It has, therefore, become imperative for our party to make necessary changes in its policy and tactics. The prevailing situation in our country is extremely complex and different forces have come to prominence in the political arena. In such a changing situation, the CPI will have to project its policies and reorient its political activities with a few to attract and mobilise vast democratic masses in various parties.

"The CPI is of the opinion that better consultations and coordination between the National Front government and the Left parties will help to facilitate the proper implementation of such a programme. It is possible under present circumstances to win some concessions for the people."

Mr Gupta said the National Council expected the government to act in a more democratic manner. "It has

already made some good announcements—repeal of the Constitution (59th amendment) Act, withdrawal of the Postal Bill, amendment to the Commissions of Enquiry Act which sought to permit withholding of vital information from the people and Parliament, amending the Official Secrets Act, to grant autonomy to All India Radio and Doordarshan and to introduce the Lok Pal Bill encompassing in its ambit the Prime Minister," he said.

The council also reviewed the report on the Lok Sabha elections and post-election situation besides adopting resolutions on Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir stressing an all-party consensus effort coupled with an economic and political package from the Centre.

The election review report noted with "satisfaction" that the objective of ousting the Congress(I) from power at the Centre had been achieved.

It said the Congress theory that its defeat was "only because of the Shilanyas of the Ram temple in Ayodhya" was wrong. "The opportunistic policies pursued by the Congress(I) of pretending to protect the rights of the Muslims, while at the same time trying to appease Hindu communal forces has boomeranged and widespread riots, especially in Bhagalpur, and the massacre of Muslims alienated the Muslims in the North Indian states. This is not the only reason for the Congress defeat."

Mr Rao said the vote has been a decisive vote against Congress(I) misrule and its anti-people and anti-democratic policies which "heaped intolerable burdens on the common people and it is a vote a change of the government."

Stand on Romania

*46001222 Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 3 Jan 90 pp 1, 9*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our Special Representative in New Delhi adds: While condemning the repression in Romania, the National Council of the Communist Party of India [CPI] rejected the contention that the uprising was directed against Socialism. It hoped that the people of that country would resist capitalist forces. The CPI welcomed the Centre's decision to render medical assistance to that country.

A statement issued at the end of council's meeting here today said the CPI "hails the people of Romania who fought for democracy against brutal repression. It is now clear that the Ceausescu family rule was the very antithesis of a truly Socialist government. Its wholesale crushing of democracy and its plunder of the wealth of the country through systematic corruption marked it out as a regime which had nothing in common with the humanist and democratic principles characteristic of a government based on scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism."

"The CPI condemns the deliberate efforts being made by interested governments in the West and their supporters,

particularly through certain mass media, to distort the reality of the situation in Romania and to suggest that the uprising of the Romanian people was directed against socialism.

ICBM Development Capability Affirmed, Need Questioned

46001218 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Article: "Need for ICBM Questioned"]

[Text] Pune, Jan. 9—The nation has the capability to design and develop the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM). However, the question is of its necessity, the chief architect of India's missile programme, according to Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam.

Dr Kalam, who is the director of the Defence Research and Development Laboratories at Hyderabad, told newsmen here today that apart from the question of the ICBM's necessity for India, high costs were also involved. These issues were for the government to decide, he said.

Dr Kalam is here to preside over the sixth "All-India fluid power conference and exhibition" organised at the Research and Development (Engineers), Dighi, near here. The noted industrialists and president of the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Mr H. K. Firodia, was the chief guest.

Replying to other question, Dr Kalam said within the next few months, the first flight trials of the indigenous 'Akash' surface-to-air, 'Nag' anti-tank and the naval version of the 'Trishul' surface-to-air missiles would be undertaken. The mission would, however, enter the operational stage after about two years.

Dr Kalam explained that the 'Trishul', which had its air force and army versions, would be an anti-aircraft and anti-missile weapon. About the 'Akash' he said it would have a multiple-target handling capability.

Asked about the shoulder-fire missiles which were reportedly developed by Pakistan, Dr Kalam said India had no plan as yet. On Pakistan's missile development capability, he said: "Whoever has the design capability is the winner. We have the design capability, our technology is indigenous and broad-based". There was, therefore, no fear of Pakistan taking a lead in the missile programme, he said.

At the inaugural ceremony of the fluid conference, Dr Kalam said that most missile control systems were fluid based. In 1979, a satellite launch vehicle had failed in its mission because of contamination of the fluid in the control system. He noted that currently, in the indigenous missile programmes, electrical activators were being used which were competing with the hydraulic systems.

Dr Kalam stressed that to minimise the cost of failure, precision in the manufacturing of components, miniaturisation of components and reliability at the design stage itself needed to be achieved.

In his speech, Mr Firodia noted that low-cost automation was the need of the hour and hydraulics was one of the ways of achieving it. He lamented that most of our government research and development organisations functioned within a highly restrained and insensitive bureaucracy. While a number of scientific institutions existed, one wondered as to how much they had achieved in real advancement in the field, he said.

Though the country's pace in scientific advancement was "good", that of some others was much faster. It would help if the government offered incentives to scholars, scientists and researchers to undertake research in front-line areas, he said.

The participants at the conference included nearly 200 technical delegates from leading manufacturers in the private and public sector, laboratories, and academicians. Three foreign delegates from Kleentek (Japan), Moorg Controls (U.K.), and Hydrauldyne (Mannesmann), the Netherlands, were also present.

An exhibition of fluid power components and systems was organised by 28 manufacturers and collaborators in the field.

New Aeronautical, Space Projects Now in Progress

46001228 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 1 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by Srinivas Laxman]

[Text] Bombay, 31 Dec—A number of new aeronautical and space projects now in an advanced stage of development, will help in major launches in the new decade.

Apart from the prestigious light combat aircraft (LCA) and the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV) programmes, both of which recently crossed an important milestone, considerable breakthrough will be made in some other areas, too.

The current thinking in aerospace circles is that these projects will get the backing of the V. P. Singh government.

A hitherto unknown programme is that of the unmanned aircraft being developed at the Bangalore-based aeronautical development establishment (ADE).

Known as the pilotless target aircraft (PTA), it is now being evaluated through a series of flights. The primary role of the PTA is that it will be used for target practice by the three services which will acquire the unmanned aircraft in 1992-93. Thus, the PTA will be a target system for surface-to-air air-to-air missiles and guns.

The ADE director, Dr K. G. Narayanan, said the PTA will be powered by a gas-turbine engine in flight and launched from a booster. It is so designed that it can be recovered and reused.

Another project which has reached an advanced stage of development in this country is the remotely-piloted vehicle (RPV), also being developed by the aeronautical development establishment.

Once fully developed the Remotely-Piloted Vehicle will be used for day and night reconnaissance, high-altitude surveillance, target acquisition and gathering electronic intelligence. In a battle environment, these RPVs, as they are commonly referred to will become what are known as "force multipliers." Made of composite material, the Indian-made RPVs will have low weight and observability.

A project which is about to leave the drawing board and move on to the production level is that of the advanced light helicopter (ALH). What is significant about the ALH programme is that it is for the first time that a helicopter is being designed and developed in this country in collaboration with the MBB of West Germany.

According to the general manager of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited [HAL], design complex, Mr S. N. Sachindran, the ALH will be a twin-engined multi-role helicopter aimed to meet different roles of the Indian armed forces. A civilian version of this helicopter is also being planned. It will operate day and night and in different weather conditions.

He said the structure of the helicopter will be a mixture of metal and composite making the helicopter crashworthy, particularly the seats and fuel tanks. Its automatic flight control system will be state-of-the-art, according to Mr Sachindran.

The ALH will take off during the early part of the decade.

The managing director of HAL, Bangalore complex, Dr C. G. Krishnadas Nair, said in a document that HAL has contributed to the country's foreign exchange savings to the tune of Rs 300 crores annually through the indigenous manufacture of aircraft, engines and components. In the Jaguar programme, out of the nearly 20,000 components in the aircraft, 72 percent have so far been indigenised and in the MiG-27 project of the nearly 38,000 parts 97 percent have been indigenised.

An important aerospace project which will take concrete shape during the early part of the 90s is the development of the GTX35VS engine for the LCA. The engine is now under development at the Gas Turbine Research Establishment (GTRE) at Bangalore. According to the director of the GTRE, Dr Arun Prasad, the LCA engine will meet the critical aircraft performance requirements like "sustained turn rate and transonic acceleration at high altitudes." What is important is that it will be for the first

time that an indigenously designed and developed engine would go into service, according to Dr Prasad.

In the area of space, two important projects—the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV) and the INSAT-2 will be implemented during the first part of this decade. The first launch on the PSLV, a four-stage vehicle, is scheduled for 1991 from Sriharikota. The PSLV will place a 100 kg satellite into sun-synchronous orbit for remote sensing purposes.

Around the same time, the first test spacecraft of INSAT-2 is also scheduled for launch. Made indigenously INSAT-2 emphasises the country's commitment to have an operational space system for communications, television and meteorological services.

Meanwhile, preparations are in full swing for the next launch of the augmented satellite launch vehicle (ASLV) from Sriharikota in the near future, according to the ASLV project manager, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, Mr M. B. Reddy.

Despite strong American objection, the successful launch of Agni, India's first intermediate range ballistic missile on 22 May under the leadership of Dr A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, has cleared the way for more launches in the 90s.

According to those in the missile programme, the first part of the decade will see more test flights of the "Agni," with three flights initially scheduled.

Meanwhile, Prithvi surface-to-surface missile, and the Trishul, surface-to-air missile, will be ready for deployment in the early 1990s. The Hyderabad-based Bharat Dynamics Limited is now getting ready for the production of these missiles.

Two other missiles, anti-tank Nag, and the surface-to-air missile, Akash, will be ready for production in 1993. The development of an air-to-air missile, Astra, to be put on the LCA is also on the cards.

Another programme being considered is a vehicle that can deliver a warhead and then return to the launching pad to be ready for another mission. Known as the reusable hyperplane, it is being designed by aerospace scientists at the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) in Hyderabad.

A feature of the hyperplane is that it will produce its own rocket fuel in flight. Stated to be superior in concept to any hyperplane under planning in various other countries, it is expected to reduce the launch cost.

All these projects will usher in a new era of revival for the Indian aerospace industry in the 90s.

BJP President, General Secretary Tell Party Stand

*46001214 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 15 Jan 90 pp 1, 28*

[Article: "No Duel With Communists: BJP"]

[Text] Calcutta, January 14—Mr L. K. Advani, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president, today held out an olive branch to the communists, particularly the CPM [Marxist Communist Party], when he announced a decision not to continue the verbal duel with the communists at the national level. He said this was intended to ensure the stability of the National Front government.

Speaking at the Calcutta press club, Mr Advani said he knew very well that the Congress and the leader of the opposition, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, would be very happy if Mr Atal [word illegible] Vajpayee and he remained at loggerheads with the CPM leaders, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Mr Jyoti Basu. But the BJP was not going to oblige the Congress and Mr Gandhi on this score.

He welcomed Mr Basu's proposal for the formation of a co-ordination committee comprising representatives of the National Front, the BJP and the communists for better co-operation among them outside Parliament. It would be a good thing if the system of consultation among the three groups was institutionalised, he said.

The BJP leader noted that there was limited consultation in the first two weeks as the new government was busy settling down. But, subsequently there had been greater consultation among the three groups. He stressed the need for frequent consultations to avoid any shortcomings on the part of the National Front government.

Mr Advani said the BJP supported all but one step taken by the V.P. Singh government so far. The BJP had reservations about the handling of the Rubaiya Sayeed rescue case. He hoped the formation of a co-ordination committee would help eliminate such shortcomings.

However, he made it clear that the BJP's state units would continue to function as "vigorous opposition parties" in the CPM-ruled states of West Bengal and Kerala. The local units of the BJP would decide their action plans against undemocratic activities of the CPM-ruled governments on their own.

Asked if this meant that the BJP would have a dual policy for the Centre and the states, Mr Advani said it was a matter of "different articulation."

Commenting broadly on the communist movement in India, he said earlier it was held that the communists were guided by foreign powers. But today, when sweeping changes were taking place in communist movements in Eastern Europe, the Indian communists were not responding to it. It went to show that the communist movement had become stagnant in India.

Mr Advani was confident that the process of political change that had begun with the Lok Sabha elections would further advance in the coming assembly elections in nine states. In spite of the difficulties being faced in arriving at electoral adjustments between the Janata Dal and the BJP in some of these states, he was sure the Congress would be defeated in the assembly elections.

New Delhi (PTI): The BJP will contest 105 assembly seats in Maharashtra and leave the remaining 183 seats to the Shiv Sena, the party general secretary, Mr Krishan Lal Sharma, announced today.

This virtually rules out seat adjustments with the Janata Dal in Maharashtra unless there are some last-minute "partial" adjustments on specific seats, as happened during the Lok Sabha polls.

Mr Sharma told reporters here that in Orissa too, the BJP would not have seat adjustments with the Janata Dal which had expressed its desire to go it alone.

The number of seats, the BJP would contest in Orissa would be decided at the two-day meeting of the party's central election committee beginning in Delhi in January 16.

The meeting would also decide on the selection of its candidates and seat adjustments with the Janata Dal in other states. Besides the 17 members of the committee, the meeting would be attended by the state units' presidents, its legislature party leaders of the nine states and one Union territory where elections are due.

Mr Sharma said that while the BJP would be pursuing the same strategy as in the Lok Sabha elections to defeat the Congress, it would try to secure a majority in the three state assemblies of Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Besides, the BJP would aim for slightly more than 50 percent of the seats in Gujarat going by its performance in the Lok Sabha polls, he added. In Gujarat, while the BJP won all the 12 Lok Sabha seats it contested, the Janata Dal won only 11 of the 14 seats.

He said the BJP was very keen on having seat adjustments with the Janata Dal and other friendly parties so as to ensure that the opposition votes were not split.

Hence, he said, the BJP was prepared to concede, the legitimate claims of the Janata Dal on the basis of its past performance and ground realities.

Mr Sharma cited the Himachal Pradesh incident where the two parties could not enter into seat adjustments during the Lok Sabha polls due to the "unreasonable stand" of the Janata Dal.

The BJP had agreed to give one of the four Lok Sabha seats to the Janata Dal in view of its dominant position in Himachal Pradesh. As the Janata Dal demanded two seats, the BJP went it alone and won three of the four seats it contested. But the Janata Dal lost its deposits in

the two seats it contested and its ally, the communists, lost the deposits in the other two seats.

Mr Sharma said going by its performance in Himachal Pradesh, the BJP should get 60 of the 68 assembly seats in seat adjustments with the Janata Dal. In the Lok Sabha polls, the BJP won 47 assembly segments, besides finishing second to the Congress in 13 other segments.

Mr Sharma was critical of the Congress-ruled state governments for flouting the election commissions' instructions.

He demanded the dissolution of those Congress governments which had violated the election commission's instructions, particularly Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, where large-scale official transfers had been reported.

He criticised the Bihar chief minister, Mr Jagannath Mishra, for having described the election commission's instructions as "interference in the functioning of state government." It appeared that the Congress was pursuing a "path of confrontation".

He also wanted the election commission to ensure that the Congress did not announce new schemes as it did before the Lok Sabha polls.

Papers Report Formation of State Political Parties

New Hindu Party

46001213 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 11 Jan 90 p 7

[Article: "New Hindu Party To Contest Poll"]

[Text] Aurangabad, January 16: A new Hindu outfit called the Rashtriya Hindu Aghadi (RHA) has resolved to contest the state assembly elections.

The leaders of the new party are Mr Vikram Savarkar and Mr Bhagwandas Arya.

The Hindu Ekta Andolan, the Vande Mataram Sanghata, the Hindu Sena, the VCCR Savarkar Vichar Manch, the Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations extended support to the RHA.

Mr Suresh Hiray, the convener of the Marathwada region of the new party, told newsmen that the RHA was trying to forge an alliance with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-Shiv Sena combine in the forthcoming election.

He said that if this alliance neglected them, they would contest the elections separately.

Mr Hiray, a member of the district executive committee of the BJP, had recently resigned from the primary party membership in protest against the leadership of its state chief, Mr Gopinath Munde.

He said the grassroot workers of the BJP found it difficult to accept the utterings of the Shiv Sena

supremo, Mr Bal Thackeray. The BJP was under the illusion that it would get an impetus after his alliance.

He alleged that Mr Hiray clarified that the Hindu organisations under the banner of the RHA were fighting for real "Hinduism".

Mr Ramesh Chandra, the district president of the Hindu Ekta Andolan, told the TOINS that the formation of the new parallel Hindu party was unavoidable.

New Marxist Party

46001213 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 11 Jan 90 p 7

[Article: "New Marxist Party in Maharashtra"]

[Text] Pune, Jan. 10—A new Marxist outfit called the Lal Nishan Party Leninist (LNP-Leninist) has been formed in Maharashtra.

Announcing the formation, Mr Bhaskar Jadhav, a member of the secretariat of the new party, said the LNP-Leninist has already aligned itself with the Left Democratic Front (LDF) and has asked for nine seats in the coming assembly elections.

It should be recalled that the Lal Nishan Party was split a few months ago. One group supported the Congress in the Lok Sabha elections while the other, which worked under the ad-hoc committee, supported the Left parties and the Janata Dal. The groups differed on various other issues also. The LNP-Leninist was formed at the convention called by the ad-hoc committee. The convention which held deliberations in Pune on Saturday and Sunday was attended by 458 activists of the undivided Lal Nishan Party. Forty-seven of them were women.

The LNP-Leninist is perhaps the first Marxist outfit in the country which will oppose the policies adopted by the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. The new party feels Mr Gorbachev and the American President, Mr George Bush, have joined hands to completely change the true communist ideology in the name of giving a human face to the communist movement.

The LNP-Leninist party totally opposed the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and East European countries.

The Pune convention elected a 46-member central committee and a 14-member executive committee. The three-member central secretariat comprises Mr A. D. Bhosle, Mr Madhukar Katre and Mr Bhaskar Jadhav.

A resolution adopted at the convention said it welcomed the dethroning of the Congress from the Centre in the recent elections. It also congratulated the electorate for not giving a majority to any of the bourgeois political parties.

The LNP-Leninist has expressed happiness over the unity of the various factions of the Republican Party of

India (RPI) and the Dalit Panthers. The Untied Republican Party of India (URPI) would certainly make an impact on Indian policies, the party opined.

The LNP-Leninist which is a constituent of the Left Democratic Front, has expressed its willingness to contest elections from the following assembly constituencies, Sewree in Bombay, Shrirampur and Rahuri in Ahmednagar district, Haveli in Pune district, Latur, Nilanga and Awasa in Latur district, and Walve and Shirala in Sangli district.

Splinter From Janata

46001213 *New Delhi PATRIOT* in English 7 Jan 90 p 6

[Article: "New Party Formed in Tamilnadu"]

[Text] TJP, the new party is a splinter group of erstwhile Janata Party.

Madras, Jan 6 (PTI)—A splinter group of the erstwhile Janata Party in Tamilnadu today announced the formation of a new party—Tamizhaga Janata Party (TJP)—which would oppose the congress, Janata Dal, the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] and the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] and keep alive the force of nationalism in the state.

TJP president Nellai Jebamani, told reporters here that its members who belonged to the undivided Janata Party, had decided not to have any truck with the Janata Dal in view of its alliance with the ruling DMK in Tamilnadu.

Releasing to the Press the resolutions adopted by the TJP's ad hoc committee, Mr Jebamani said the Congress and the Janata Dal had given up their nationalist policy to become the 'henchmen' of the AIADMK and DMK respectively. The TJP would go alone and not succumb to the regional parties here, he added.

Mr Jebamani said the people of Tamilnadu had voted against the "corrupt" DMK in the Lok Sabha polls but had voted for the "corrupt" AIADMK and Congress in the absence of an alternative. The TJP hoped to present a credible alternative.

The TJP, in a resolution, welcomed the National Front Government's efforts to solve the problems in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir which, it said, had been created by the previous Congress government, and the measures to provide autonomy to AIR [All India Radio] and Doordarshan. However, the Centre must try for a peaceful solution to the Sri Lanka Tamils issue without the intervention of Tamilnadu Chief Minister M. Karunandhi.

New Party in Punjab

46001213 *Calcutta THE STATESMAN*
in English 2 Dec 89 p 12

[Article: "Bahujan Samaj Party New Force in Punjab"]

[Text] Chandigarh Dec. 1—The Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP] has emerged as a new and strong political force in Punjab. Though this new radical party of Dalits could win only one out of the total 13 Lok Sabha seats, undoubtedly the performance of the party was better than the other Opposition parties, including the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the two moderate factions of the Akali Dal led by Mr Surjit Singh Barnala and Mr Jagdev Singh Talwandi and the two Left parties.

Mr Harbhajan Lakha of the BSP won the Phillaur reserved Lok Sabha seat defeating the veteran Congress(I) nominee, Mr Sunder Singh and the prominent Akali Dal (Talwandi) candidate, Mr Charanjit Singh Atwal. The BSP candidate polled 173,192 votes. But it will be significant to mention here that both the Akali Dal (Mann) and the militant All-India Sikh Students Federation supported the BSP for the Phillaur seat.

The BSP candidates also performed well at Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ropar, Ludhiana, Faridkot and Ferozepur. At Jalandhar, the BSP candidate, Mr Devi Dass Nahar, polled 71,733 votes and was placed at number three after the Congress(I) candidate, Major-General (retired) Rajinder Singh Sparrow. The seat was won by Mr Inder Kumar Gujral of the Janata Dal.

At Hoshiarpur, the BSP candidate, Mr Satnam Singh, was the runners-up having polled more than 100,000 votes against the winner, Mr Kamal Chaudhary of the Congress(I). It is significant that at Hoshiarpur, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] and the BJP candidates were placed number three and four.

Even at Ropar, the reserved seat that was won by Mrs Bimal Kaur Khalsa, the militant-supported Akali Dal nominee, the BSP candidate secured 47,000 votes. Mr Lachhman Singh of the CPI [Communist Party of India] polled just 25,000 votes at Ropar.

At Ludhiana, the BSP candidate Mr Inderjit Singh, secured 9,000 votes more than the Akali Dal (Talwandi) candidate, Mr Jagdev Singh Jassowal. Even at Faridkot, the seat won by Mr Jagdev Singh Khudian, the militant-supported Akali Dal (Mann) candidate, the BSP candidate polled more votes than the Akali Dal (Talwandi) nominee.

Political pundits are of the view that the BSP will certainly improve its position in the next Assembly poll in Punjab likely to be held in March.

During the recent Lok Sabha election, the BSP activists could be seen everywhere, even in the remote villages, busy in campaigning for the party candidates.

Punjab-watchers feel that the performance of the radical Dalit party in the Lok Sabha poll has clearly shown that it has already succeeded in building a solid base among the Harijans, the traditional vote bank of the Congress(I). The steady rise of the BSP in Punjab is a cause of concern for the Congress(I) which has faced a near-rout in the terrorist-hit state.

Political circles indicate that there is a strong possibility of the militant-supported Akali Dal (Mann) agreeing for an adjustment of seats with the BSP in the next Vidhan Sabha election in Punjab. Besides, the Government employees who form the committed cadre of BSP in Punjab, the Dalit party has also succeeded in making inroads in the small peasantry as well as the landless farm workers in the State.

The BSP also has its daily party paper, JANTAK LAHAR, published from Jalandhar—the headquarters of the vernacular Press in Punjab. JANTAK LAHAR has a daily circulation of more than 15,000 copies.

Reportage on Bangalore Conference on Superconductivity

10 Jan Session

46001230 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 11 Jan 90 p 4

[Report from our Science Correspondent]

[Text] Bangalore, 10 Jan—Superconductivity has been one area which has emphasised the need for improving the research infrastructure in the country so that the capacity of our scientists to absorb the developments occurring the world over as well as to work on innovative ideas is vastly increased, said Prof C. N. R. Rao, in his opening remarks at the inauguration of India's First International Conference on Superconductivity which began here today.

Prof Rao, who is the Chairman of the National Organising Committee of the Conference, said superconductivity has become the subject for all seasons and for people from different disciplines. The challenges that the new field of high temperature superconductivity has posed have been such that scientists no longer recognise border lines and it, like no other subject, has brought together physical scientists and engineers, he said. At a time when it was being felt that there was nothing left for solid state scientists to do, contributions have been made in the field which have become worthy enough for common people and even politicians to talk about, he added. "The excitement of the last three years has been fantastic," he remarked.

The five-day conference has brought together physicists, chemists, ceramists and engineers numbering over 450 from over 12 countries.

Welcoming the delegates earlier Prof S. K. Joshi, Director of the National Physical Laboratory and

Chairman of the Programme Committee for the Conference, said that the participation has been beyond expectations of the organisers.

Some leading research workers in the field from different parts of the world also made some remarks about superconductivity programmes in their respective countries at the inaugural ceremony which, it must be remarked, was without the customary, but unnecessary, winding speeches of some luminary public figure and the like.

Prof Bianconi, of the Universita la Sapienza, Rome, said that improvement of superconducting materials has been recognised as the key issue today though after 1987 much better crystals have been made and much better experimental results have been obtained. He informed that the Italian programme was linked to the European projects under the European Economic Community.

Prof M. Cardona of the Max-Planck Institute at Stuttgart observed that progress in the area of superconductivity had been possible due to the openness with which research is being carried out around in his country. "Secrecy has largely been avoided both in the industry and research laboratories with due recognition issues of proprietary nature," he said. Prof Cardona has come here with a high temperature superconductivity demonstration kit which, as he put it, has kindled interest in the public "from the plains of his country to the heights of Andes mountains."

Efforts in Japan: Dr K. Kitazawa of the University of Tokyo describing briefly about the efforts in Japan said that superconductivity had set off a severe competition among the various ministries of the Government, notably the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Transport. According to him, a consortium of nearly 100 companies has been set up under the recommendation of Dr S. Tanaka, one of the key figures in Japan in high temperature superconductivity. Dr Tanaka also heads a centre called the International Superconductivity Technology Centre (ISTEC) set up to interface with these companies on new developments in the field.

Dr Pravin Choudhury of IBM Research division, Yorktown Heights, New York, said that the subject of superconductivity has raised deep intellectual questions and at the same time promises enormous industrial applications. He remarked that between Japan and the United States more than half a billion dollars had been spent during the last year on superconductivity research.

Prof B. Raveau of the University of Caen, France, said that the French research agency CNRS had started quite early to manage the superconductivity programme in France and over 400 projects had been initiated in association with companies.

Role of Copper Sheets

"I am not a religious person but perhaps God made copper for us to have not only good conductors but even superconductors (of electricity)" remarked Prof C. N. R.

Rao in response to a question from the audience whether as a solid state chemist Prof Rao could understand why we are stuck with copper in all the high temperature superconducting materials discovered so far. Prof Rao was delivering a plenary talk on the topic of "Superconducting Cuprates and Nickelates."

Right from the first high temperature superconductor at 30°K (-243°C) found by Drs J. G. Bednorz and K. A. Mueller in a lanthanum-based oxide to the highest temperature thallium-based oxide superconductor at 162°K all of them seem to need the presence of copper oxide in their structure. That is, they are all cuprates. Structurally all these belong to the broad class of materials called perovskite oxides where sheets of copper oxide sandwich between them atomic sites of other atoms present in the material to yield a quasi-two dimensional character to the unit cell of the crystal structure of the material.

Role of copper sheets: The role of these copper sheets is considered very crucial in the phenomenon of high temperature superconductivity. The lanthanum compounds and the so-called 123 compounds based on yttrium oxide, in fact, have additional chains of copper oxide as well. Initially it was thought that the presence of both sheets and chains was essential to have high temperature superconductors. However, the subsequent discoveries of thallium-based and bismuth-based oxide compounds have shown that it is the copper oxide planes which are dominantly responsible for the phenomenon because these latter materials have no chains. It has also been found that clever engineering of oxide materials so that they have more number of copper oxide layers stacked in a unit cell (upto four) result in higher transition temperatures.

Charge transfer: The present understanding, as was outlined by Dr B. Batlogg of the IBM Research Labs in his inaugural invited talk today, is that high temperature superconductivity is probably due to charge transfer in and out of these active copper oxide layers. The mixed valency property of copper is regarded very important in this charge transfer mechanism. Other atoms used in the material are merely building blocks that act as charge reservoirs aiding this transfer and choice of these atoms depends on the cleverness of the crystal chemist, he said.

Thallium-Based Superconductor

46001230 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 11 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by N. Suresh]

[Text] Bangalore, 10 Jan—Scientists at the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) here claim to have developed a novel superconductor using materials not used for the purpose so far.

This was announced by the IISc director, Dr C. N. R. Rao, at the five-day international conference on superconductivity which began here today.

Dr Rao said the new compound, developed at IISc, contains thallium, strontium, lead and copper. It does not contain calcium, barium or rare-earth elements which have been the ingredients of all superconductors developed so far.

The thallium-based compound exhibits superconductivity at minus 213°C. It is considered the latest contribution since the announcement of the development of bismuth-based superconductors by Japanese scientists last year.

Superconductivity is a phenomenon in which certain materials offer no resistance to the flow of electricity below a certain temperature known as critical temperature.

11 Jan Session

46001230 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 12 Jan 90 p 10

[Article by our Science Correspondent]

[Text] Bangalore, 11 Jan—Breakthrough discoveries of novel high temperature superconducting materials by the young U.S. based Indian material scientist, Dr M. A. Subramaniam of the Du Pont Research and Development Division, U.S., have been awarded U.S. patents very recently. This was learnt here today at the International Conference on Superconductivity.

Dr Subramaniam's group at the Du Pont Research and Development Department at Delaware was one of the first to discover the thallium-based high temperature superconducting oxide materials with transition temperatures of up to 125°K (-148°C) in 1988. Specifically, the Du Pont team was the first to report the thallium-lead-strontium-calcium-copper-oxide high temperature superconducting materials where thallium atoms in the crystalline structure have been substituted with lead atoms in 1:1 ratio.

Recognising that these (doped) thallium-lead copper oxides are distinctly different from the other thallium based superconductors one patent has been granted collectively for the two oxides represented by the following chemical formulae: (Tl, Pb) $Sr_2CaCu_2O_7$ and (Tl, Pb) $Sr_2Ca_2Cu_3O_9$. The respective superconducting transition temperatures (Tc) are 90°K (-183°C) and 120°K (-153°C).

Lanthanum-based: The second patent has been granted for a lanthanum-based superconducting oxide where some lanthanum atoms have been substituted with sodium atoms with the fraction of sodium ranging from 0.1 to 0.3. The formula of this compound is given as (La, Na) CuO_4 . This superconducting phase has been found to have a Tc of about 40°K (-233°C). The essential difference between this thallium-based compound and the other more common superconducting lanthanum compounds is that here is that the oxygen stoichiometry is well determined: that is to say, the proportion of oxygen content is exactly known.

Superconductivity in the other lanthanum oxides was attained by having an undetermined excess of oxygen achieved through high temperature annealing of the oxide mixture in a high pressure oxygen environment. In contrast, here the necessary electronic property in the crystal structure required for high T_c is sought by Dr Subramaniam to be achieved in the cationic sector of the compound: by adding sodium in undetermined proportions. And this has been found to make preparation of the material much easier than high pressure annealing in an oxygen atmosphere.

Though Prof C. N. R. Rao is reported to have found these thallium-based superconducting phases at around the same time the publication of Dr Subramaniam's results were much before Prof Rao's. Incidentally, Dr Subramaniam is a former student of the IIT [Indian Institute of Technology], Madras, having worked under Prof G. V. Subba Rao in the Materials Sciences Department of the Institute.

Delivering an invited talk today at the Conference on "High T_c Superconductors: Structures, Defects, Non-Stoichiometry and T_c Correlations," Dr Subramaniam pointed to an interesting empirical observation which gives a sort of thumb rule to fabricate new materials with high superconducting transition temperatures. His observation is that all the superconducting materials so far discovered seem to have a very small value range for the attribute known as electronegativity. The range in which all the materials have been found to fall is: 2.64 to 2.66.

Mixed valency property: There are textbook rules for calculating this quantity in compounds like the new copper oxide high T_c materials. Electronegativity in these materials gives a measure of the effective negative charge on the group of radicals apart from the copper atoms, or equivalently, this is a measure of the positive charge state of copper in the crystal structure of the material which does not have a fixed value. This mixed valency property as it is called, whether a copper atom is in a +2 charge state or in a +3 charge state, is known to play a very important role in high temperature superconductivity.

Therefore, if Dr Subramaniam is right all that is required is to sit with Pauling's electronegativity formula and work out which atoms would do the trick of producing a compound with an average electronegativity that falls in the empirical range. This empirical relation is not surprising because it is related to the proximity of copper and oxygen atoms in the active copper-oxide layers in the crystal lattice, known to be crucial for high T_c . But it is good to have a cooking recipe for high T_c , is what Dr Subramaniam says.

Another prominent U.S. based Indian scientist in the field of high temperature superconductivity and attached to a corporate R&D setup is Dr Pravin Chaudhuri of the IBM Research Division, Yorktown Heights, New York. He is part of a National Committee on Superconductivity formed by the U.S. President, Mr George Bush, which will be submitting a report within a

few months to the U.S. Congress recommending how the U.S. Government should plan to use the research done in the U.S. industry and research laboratories.

National efforts in U.S.: Dr Chaudhuri and his colleagues at the IBM were the first to report the highest current densities of about a million amperes/sq.cm. in these novel superconducting oxide materials fairly in the game. Talking to THE HINDU on the nature of the national efforts in the United States in the field, Dr Chaudhuri said that a consortium of companies and national laboratories has been formed, based on the recommendation made by the so-called Weismann Commission set up by the former President, Mr Ronald Reagan. The consortium consists of the important American institutions like the IBM, AT&T Bell Laboratories, MIT, Lincoln Laboratories, Du Pont, Los Alamos National Laboratory and others.

The consortium was formed after all the financial, legal and technology transfer aspects were taken care of, according to Dr Chaudhuri. An estimated funding to the extent of \$140 millions from the U.S. Government and \$100 millions from the U.S. industry towards superconductivity research for the next years is being envisaged in the Committee's report.

Levitation transport vistas: Apart from the electronics and the power sector industries, aerospace industry has also evinced keen interest in the area, Dr Chaudhuri said.

However, the surface transport industry has shown very little interest in the magnetic levitation transport possibilities unlike as in Japan. Apart from the New York Senator, Mr Moynihan there is no obvious interest from anywhere else, he said. "The issue is not whether levitation is possible: that certainly is. The question is whether one wants to do it," Dr Chaudhuri said. Incidentally, Du Pont is also part of the Japanese consortium reported yesterday in THE HINDU through its Japanese subsidiary Du Pont (Japan), according to Dr Subramaniam.

Talking of directions in basic research in the United States Dr Chaudhuri said that material issues are still open though the so-called 123 compounds based on yttrium oxide are the easiest to prepare. Second in line are the bismuth-based compounds, he said. Though thallium compounds are toxic and therefore not preferred for large scale applications, they are likely to be exploited by small companies for applications like coating the insides of RF resonance cavities, he pointed out.

False alarm: There has been steady progress in the United States in achieving high current densities in these oxide materials, he said. Dr Chaudhuri feels that it was a false alarm in 1987 that high critical currents could be obtained only in thin foils. Very high current densities have been obtained in almost all single crystals of these oxide materials, he pointed out. In poly crystalline

materials at 77K current densities as high as 6-8 million amperes/sq.cm. have been obtained at zero magnetic field, Dr Chaudhuri said.

He referred to some recent work in Japan which had shown that in crystalline wires current densities higher than conventional low temperature superconductors could be obtained. As regards field dependent current densities he pointed out to the significance of the recent work wherein an oxide superconductor at 4 K under a magnetic field of 25 tesla higher current densities than conventional metallic superconductor values had been obtained.

Correction: Dr B. Batlogg referred to in the last para in the report is from AT&T Bell Laboratories, New Jersey, U.S., and not IBM Research Division as had been inadvertently reported yesterday.

12 Jan Session

46001230 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 13 Jan 90 p 7

[Article by our Science Correspondent]

[Text] Bangalore, 12 Jan—One of the important applications of superconductors is their use as winding coils in an electromagnet to generate high magnetic fields. If such superconducting magnets can be made with these new high temperature oxide superconductors, these can be used at liquid nitrogen temperatures (77K or -196°C) instead of the expensive and complicated process involved in the conventional low temperature superconducting magnets operating at liquid helium temperatures of 4.2°K.

The major problem with the high temperature oxide superconductors—which are basically ceramics and are prepared by high temperature sintering process—is the difficulty in winding of tape or wire conductors, with sufficient flexibility, into a coil because these materials are brittle. Japanese scientists feel that among the various special techniques that have been attempted to fabricate long conductors using these new oxide materials, the following two are the most advantageous: (1) metal cladding and (2) the so-called “doctor blade” casting of the conventionally sintered material into tapes. The most commonly used sheath to clad the oxide wires, which are of about a few mm diameter, is silver. The doctor blade process (DBP) is well known in materials technology, which essentially means that the material can be directly doctored to tapes of required thickness and width.

The critical factor in superconductors is the limiting value of current that can be passed through them. Further, this limiting current value comes down in the presence of external magnetic fields: higher the field, lower the amount of current that the superconductor can carry. The problem is particularly severe in the oxide superconductors which are granular in nature and where the individual grains are weakly coupled affecting

adversely the current carrying capacity. The polycrystalline bulk oxide superconducting material prepared by the conventional sintering process has been found to have very low current carrying capacities at 77°K even in zero magnetic field.

Breakthrough: A new development to overcome this problem was reported here today at the International Conference on Superconductivity by Dr Hiroshi Maeda of the National Research Institute for Metals, Tsukuba, Japan, and the reported advance is considered significant by scientists gathered here. What Dr Maeda and coworkers have found is that intermediate cold pressing of the material between sintering heat treatments results in the alignment of grains in the superconductors drawn and significantly increases the current carrying capacities in the sample to unprecedented values. The wires and tapes produced are repeatedly coldrolled and sintered several times to obtain a textured microstructure of the grains in the material.

The other most important finding of the Japanese workers is that this method is particularly suitable to bismuth(Bi) oxide based high temperature superconductors. Dr Maeda and colleagues have investigated the properties of doctor blade processed (DBP) tapes and silver sheathed tapes of lead doped bismuth-strontium-calcium-copper-oxide superconductor. The problem in drawing wires and tapes using the so-called 123 compounds based on yttrium oxide is that they are very unstable in repeated heat treatments above 500°C which is needed in the above two techniques. The results indicate that bi-oxide based superconducting tapes are very promising materials for future high field superconducting magnet applications for which no superconducting material in wire or tape form currently exists.

For DBP tapes the sintered pellets of the bulk bi-oxide material were milled into fine powder and mixed with an organic formulation consisting of a solvent, binder and dispersant. The resulting slurry was then cast under a ‘doctor blade’ producing a 125 mm wide and 100 micrometre thick green coloured tapes. The tapes were then subjected to heat treatment at 500°C for about two hours and then coldrolled and sintered at about 845°C for four hours. Cold rolling and sintering are repeated several times. It was found that zero resistance of the superconducting bi-oxide tape prepared without cold rolling was attained at a critical temperature of 100°K while the combination of cold rolling and sintering gave a value of 107°K.

Similarly the limiting current density (J_c) was also found to be sensitive to sintering conditions. The highest J_c obtained was about 2000 amperes/sq. cm. at 77°K and zero magnetic field. This J_c is 100 to 1000 times higher than that obtained without cold rolling. This value is more than 10 times the value reported in wires made from bulk sintered samples. Further, at 4.2°K the DBP tape showed excellent values of J_c : 22000 amperes/sq. cm. at a magnetic field of 10 tesla and 16700 amperes/sq. cm. at 23 tesla. The degradation of J_c in the presence of

external magnetic field was also found to be significantly reduced in cold rolled tapes. However, the degradation depended upon the direction of the external field: whether it is parallel to the tape surface or perpendicular to it.

Silver sheath superconductors were prepared by putting the sintered powder into silver tubes. The composites were then swaged and drawn, and then fabricated into tapes by cold rolling and pressing. The tapes were again sintered at temperatures between 820°C and 860°C for 8-200 hours. Here too Dr Maeda found excellent values of J_c . Compared to randomly oriented grain texture of bulk sintered samples the oriented grains in these tapes produced three orders of magnitude higher J_c even in the presence of magnetic fields parallel to the tape surface. The drop in J_c for perpendicular magnetic fields was, however, more drastic compared to the DBP tape case. Values up to 35000 amperes/sq. cm. have been seen, according to Dr Maeda.

13 Jan Session

46001230 Madras *THE HINDU*
in English 14 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by our Science Correspondent]

[Text] Bangalore, 13 Jan—Since the discovery of high temperature superconductivity in 1986 by Bednorz and Mueller in lanthanum-barium-copper-oxide compound at above 30°K (-243°C) every following year has seen an entirely new family of copper-oxide superconductors. The year 1989 was no exception which has produced more than one new family.

While in early 1989 the so-called n-type or electron-type superconductors in neodymium-cerium-copper-oxide compounds were discovered, an interesting new class of high temperature superconductors has been found by Japanese scientists at Aoyama-Gakuin University, Tokyo, in the latter half of 1989. The details of these new compounds were given here yesterday by Dr Jun Akimitsu at the ongoing International Conference on Superconductivity.

In 1987, we had the so-called 123 compounds based on yttrium oxide displaying superconductivity at 90°K (-183°C) breaking the liquid nitrogen temperature barrier at 77°K. The thallium and bismuth based copper-oxide superconductors were reported in 1988 with the highest superconducting transition temperatures (T_c) upto 125°K (-148°C). These and the lanthanum-based compounds of 1986 and the 123 compounds of 1987 are called p-type or hole-type superconductors. The n-type neodymium-cerium superconductors, however, have a T_c of only around 25°K or so. Dr Akimitsu and his colleagues had also discovered some of these n-type superconductors.

New compounds: The new compounds discovered by Dr Akimitsu in a way make use of the known structural facets of both the n-type and p-type superconductors to

yield an altogether new series of superconductors. These systems are neodymium-barium-cerium-copper-oxide materials. In general, neodymium can be replaced by any other rare-earth (RE) metal like samarium or europium or gadolinium and the highest T_c that Dr Akimitsu has found is 43°K in the europium oxide compound.

According to Dr Akimitsu, in terms of their crystalline structure, the n-type neodymium-cerium superconductors could be understood as alternative stackings of two different kinds of crystallographic units: one, with the geometry of the unit that makes up the earliest lanthanum-based superconductors and the other, with the geometry of the unit that makes up the compound neodymium copper oxide. Viewing similarly, the whole lot of superconductors discovered so far as alternative stackings of five different sub-crystallographic blocks, Dr Akimitsu says that the new class belongs to a combination of a unit that makes up 123 superconductors and a unit that makes up neodymium copper oxide.

Accidental: "Initially I made it accidentally though this kind of crystallographic understanding as combination of sub-units predicts it," says Dr Akimitsu. The starting material for preparing this new material is a mixture of rare earth metal oxide, barium oxide, cerium oxide and copper oxide in the ratio of 6:4:2:9. The mixture is pressed into pellets and heated in an oxygen atmosphere at 900-1020°C for 15 hours. Finally, they are annealed at 650°C for 24 hours in oxygen under high pressure of 80 kg/sq. cm.

This mode of preparation is claimed to produce a single phase of the material; that is crystallographically, a new well defined structure exists throughout the volume of the material and not in isolated grains of the sample only.

The crystal structure has been elucidated by studies involving high resolution electron microscope images, X-ray scattering and neutron scattering experiments. These new neodymium and other RE-cerium-barium-copper-oxide superconductors have been found to be p-type. However, Dr Akimitsu believes that they can be made n-type as well by appropriately treating with oxygen.

Minor flutter at meet: A minor flutter was created at the venue of the conference when Prof K. Kitazawa of the University of Tokyo announced that he had received a facsimile of a news report in Japan that Dr Akimitsu's laboratory had found a copper-less superconductor with a T_c of about 100°K. Though Dr Akimitsu denied any knowledge of this, a private conversation with him seemed that he was keeping something under his hat.

In spite of several attempts the world over, it has not been possible to make copper-less superconductors. The claims in 1989 that nickel-based superconductors could be made proved false though these systems show some anomalous magnetic behaviour. "I think it is possible to make copper-less systems though it is not nickel," he said.

Different Theory

PTI reports:

A scientist from Bell Laboratories, U.S., created a sensation by proposing a radically different theory to explain the phenomenon of superconductivity.

Dr C. M. Varma's theory attempts to explain the superconductivity phase of a compound by quantitative means rather than through a mathematical model. According to the theory, superconductivity is due to interaction between electrons in copper which glue together to form a chain. There is some "special chemistry" that attracts electrons to each other in the copper which is the main factor responsible for superconductivity. Earlier theories to explain superconductivity have said there cannot be electron to electron interaction in a continuous chain.

An earlier theory, the BCS theory of 1957 said superconductivity was caused by a pairing of electrons (also called copper pairs) if the temperature rises above the transient temperature (at which superconductivity sets in), then the pairing of electrons breaks down destroying the superconducting effect.

Since then, Dr Varma's is the first theory which talks of superconductivity due to a continuous interaction between electrons and not just pairing.

Dr Varma's theory states copper is the main ingredient in a superconducting compound and the other elements like yttrium and barium "only establish equilibrium between the oxygen atoms."

Reportage on Condition of Indian Economy

Bank Governor's Report

46001225 New Delhi PATRIOT
in English 19 Jan 90 p 9

[Text] Bhopal, 18 Jan—India's economy was in a 'satisfactory position' although there was a lot of pressure on Government finances, with deficits running on the higher side, the Reserve Bank of India [RBI] Governor R. N. Malhotra said here today, report agencies.

Addressing a press conference, Mr Malhotra, however, refused to comment on the statement by some National Front Government functionaries that it had inherited empty coffers from the Congress Government.

The RBI Governor said the pressure on the rise of prices of some commodities in the country had eased somewhat from September last year.

Mr Malhotra said the foreign reserves apart from gold and Special Drawing Rights (SDR) stood now at around Rs 5,600 crore and he attributed this to the rise in exports from the country. There was also pressures on the Balance of Payments, he added.

But exports were building up during the last few weeks and about 35 percent increase was expected in the current year, Mr Malhotra said.

The RBI Governor said the waiving of loans of farmers was still "under consideration." As regards the viability of banks in case of waivers, he said, the banks would be compensated for it.

He said the overall outstanding agricultural loans, advanced by both the commercial and cooperative banks, were to the tune of Rs 26,000 crore. Of these, those up to Rs 10,000 given to marginal and small farmers, amounted to about Rs 14,000 crore.

Regarding the price index, Mr Malhotra said that during the 1980s, the wholesale price index went up by only seven percent which was "good" compared to other developing countries. The RBI, however, was not satisfied and wanted to curb inflation further.

Mr Malhotra said the rate of inflation at the end of December last year was six percent less than the price level in March end the same year. The foodgrains stocks, which ran down for two years due to the 1987 drought, had now picked up and was satisfactory, though still below the peak attained some years ago.

Replying to a question, NABARD [National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development] chairman and RBI Deputy Governor, Mr Nai, who was also present, said there was no provision to waive off penal interest on farm loans. Asked about the stand taken by the erstwhile Moti Lal Vora Government in Madhya Pradesh that talks were being held with NABARD on waiving off Rs 166 crore of penal interest on such loans, he replied in the negative.

Mr Malhotra, who was here in connection with the meeting of the Central Board of the RBI which was held today, said the economic situation of the country was among the various topics that were discussed at the board meeting.

The RBI Governor admitted that there was a substantial parallel economy operating in the country, and said steps to combat this were being taken regularly.

Trade Deficit Drops

46001225 Madras THE HINDU
in English 18 Jan 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 17 Jan—The trade deficit has come down sharply in both rupee and dollar terms following a record 38 percent growth in exports in April-November 1989 and only a marginal rise in imports.

The deficit has declined from Rs 5,505.51 crores in April-November 1988 to Rs 4,532.16 crores in April-November 1989, showing a fall of 17.7 percent.

38 Percent Growth in Exports

Exports have increased to a record level of Rs 16,832.46 crores in April-November 1989 from Rs 12,200.70 crores in April-November 1988 indicating a growth of 38 percent.

Stating this at a meeting of senior officials here today, the Commerce Minister, Mr Arun Nehru, said exports have grown substantially in dollar terms as well. Exports during April-November 1989 are estimated at \$10,217.34 million compared to \$8,651.81 million in the same period of 1988 showing a dollar growth of 18.1 percent.

Imports in rupee terms are estimated at Rs 21,364.52 crores in April-November 1989 as against Rs 17,706.21 crores in April-November 1988 showing an increase of 20.7 percent. In dollar terms, imports in April-November 1989 were \$12,968.31 million compared to \$12,555.90 million in April-November 1988 showing only a marginal rise of 3.3 percent.

Following these trends, the trade deficit, Mr Nehru said, has declined from Rs 5,505.51 crores in April-November 1988 to Rs 4,532.06 crores in April-November of the current financial year showing a fall of 17.7 percent.

In dollar terms, the deficit has gone down by 29.5 percent from \$3,904.09 million in April-November 1988 to \$2,750.97 million in April-November 1989.

These trends are based on the provisional data available from the Directorate-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.

The export target for 1989-90 was fixed at Rs 28,025 crores envisaging a growth of 38 percent. From the trends available so far and taking into account the fact that exports will accelerate further in the latter half of the year, the target is likely to be exceeded, Mr Nehru said.

Exports in 1988-89 stood at Rs 20,295 crores.—PTI

Industrial Growth Declines

46001225 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Jan 90 p 9

[Text] Industrial growth rate declined to 3.8 percent in the first half of 1989-90 as compared to 8.8 percent for the same period in the preceding year.

This has been stated in an Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocham) survey covering 35 percent of the total manufacturing output. The survey reveals a down-ward growth trend in 1989 in industries such as steel, cotton textiles, jute, fertilisers, cement, automobiles, sugar, tea and electronics.

The industrial growth was more than 8 percent in the past five years, an Assocham release quoting the survey said.

The deceleration in industry has been more marked in the manufacturing sector which has 77 percent weightage

in the index of industrial production. The manufacturing sector witnessed a negative growth of 0.07 percent in the first quarter of 1989-90 over the corresponding period in 1988-89.

The study says that industry can pick up the earlier growth tempo if capital outlays are stepped up, adequate foreign exchange made available for import of critical raw materials, prices are contained, functioning of infrastructure improved and excise and customs duty reduced in specific cases.

The growth rates of both saleable steel and steel ingots were marginally negative in the first half of 1989-90. Production in almost all the integrated plants under Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL) fell 19 percent short of the target set for the first quarter of 1989.

The fall in the production of saleable steel has been attributed to closure of some units in the public sector steel plants, supply of poor quality of coal, non-availability of scrap to mini steel plants and power shortage.

To meet industry's requirement of steel it was necessary to evolve suitable strategies to enhance production and improve quality. Further fillip could be given to production if import liberalisation was accompanied by decontrol of steel.

Cotton Textiles: Cotton fabrics recorded a negative growth of 4.8 percent in April to June 1989 as against a 2.4 percent increase during 1988-89. According to the Assocham survey there was a need to review textile modernisation fund scheme to ensure more equitable flow of funds particularly to the marginal units, to stabilise supply and prices of raw materials, and to create additional capacity for viscose staple fibre.

Jute: Production of jute textiles for the period of April to September this year fell by 9.1 percent in sharp contrast to the increase of 17.6 percent in 1988-89. This was attributed to the interplay of demand and supply factors, stiff competition from cheaper synthetic bags, closure of a number of jute mills in West Bengal, obsolete machinery and technology and poor off-take from the Calcutta port.

Fertiliser: The production of phosphatic fertiliser declined by 40 percent during April to September 1989 over the corresponding period last year. The decline has been on account of non-availability of phosphoric acid, an important raw material.

Cement: There has been a steep fall in cement production in June-August 1989 as compared to the corresponding period in 1988. The supply of cement outstrips the present demand by almost four million tonnes.

PAKISTAN

Second Round Will Not Fail

90OJ0129A Islamabad HURMAT
in Urdu 20 Dec 89 pp 7-11

[Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, COP [Combined Opposition Parties] chairman; by Sarfaraz Malik; Possibility of another no-confidence motion against Benazir Bhutto discussed; date and place not specified; first couple of paragraphs are introduction.]

[Text] The chairman of the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's political past is like an open book. For years he has been one of the founders of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. In political thinking, he is way ahead of many well-known politicians. In the days when Zulfiqar 'Ali Bhutto had not even joined the school of politics, Jatoi had mastered the art of politics. Despite being a member of a fascist political party like the PPP, he not only believed in clean politics he also practiced it. He was elected a member of the national and provincial assemblies a number of times. During the Bhutto regime, he has been the prime minister of Sindh and leader of the Sindh People's Party. Though he was the standard bearer of the democratic movement and the moving spirit of MRD [Movement for Restoration of Democracy] because of his seriousness and strict principles, the ladies of the Bhutto family had him removed from the party. The majority that the PPP enjoys in Sindh today is the result of Jatoi's former sacrifices and his sincerity and affection with the party. But improper treatment of a sincere person like Jatoi at the hands of the Bhutto ladies is not all surprising because ingratitude has been the characteristic of this party.

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was defeated in the 1988 elections because he was talking about Pakistan, about Islam, and did not approve of the anti-Pakistan and anti-Islamic activities of the PPP. As against the PPP, which won the elections in Sindh on the basis of prejudice, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi won the by-elections from Muzaffarabad and proved that the slogans of prejudice cannot prove to be long lasting. Today Mr. Jatoi is the representative of all the parliamentary forces except the ruling party. He has been chosen as the parliamentary leader of the COP by all the opposition parties. He is the most renowned statesman. It is the result of the efforts of Shaukat Abbas, the secretary general of NPP [National People's Party] Islamabad, that Mr. Jatoi gave his valuable time for interview with HURMAT. His views on the COP, the Eighth amendment, the motion of no-confidence, and the situation in Sindh are being presented to the readers.

[HURMAT] What were the reasons which forced you to put forward the no-confidence motion. Was this opposition for the sake of opposition or were there any reasons behind it. What do you think were the shortcomings that turned this no-confidence motion into a vote of confidence?

[Jatoi] At this time the government media is giving a wrong impression about the no-confidence motion, and is engaged day and night to prove that this motion is an un-democratic act and is directed against the PPP for the opposition. Here I would like to explain that this no-confidence motion was not a motion simply for the sake of opposition, but was put forward keeping in mind the welfare of the people and development of the country. We will continue to put forward the no-confidence motion until we succeed. The fact is that it is now one year since the PPP came into power, and it has as yet not fulfilled the promises it made to the people, with the result that the atmosphere of widespread frustration that prevailed in the country still persists. But luckily because of the restoration of democracy, after a long period of time compared with other forms of government, the people have a lot of expectations from an elected democratic government. But the PPP government has not been able to give the people anything other than empty promises. If we were to assess the performance of the PPP as an impartial citizen, then all around us we see nothing but kinship. On the other hand, if we were to look at any form of government anywhere in the world we see that it has four basic responsibilities: to protect the dignity, life, and property of the people and provide them with employment. Nowhere in the world does any constitution state that the dignity, life, and property of only party workers should be protected and that only the party workers should be provided with a livelihood, but that all of the country's people deserve to be treated alike irrespective of the fact that they belong to the ruling party or the opposition. But the PPP government has failed to fulfill these four responsibilities during its one year in office. As an example, if we were to survey the law and order situation since the PPP came into power the conditions in all other provinces in general and that in Sindh in particular, incidents of theft, murder, dacoity, and kidnapping have increased 400 percent. I am not saying that the conditions in Sindh were peaceful previously. The conditions prevailing in Sindh were certainly bad, but if facts and figures were to be compared before and after the PPP came into power, then one can see that assassination incidents in 1987 rose from 10 to 40. In the interior of Sindh, the people are living in conditions of uncertainty. A mother whose son has gone to college is not certain whether he will ever return. A wife spends the whole day brooding over the fate of her husband, who has gone to earn his livelihood for his children, hoping he will not become the target of some masked terrorist group. We would like to ask the prime minister if all of these are taking place on an incidental basis. No never. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and her party workers are responsible for all these actions. Benazir Bhutto is silent because she wants to attract the attention of the people to these incidents and thereby elongate her rule. But we will not allow her to succeed in her people killing activities. At present, Sindh is practically under the military, and the Sindh government is only in name. As for the interior of Sindh, the rule of "might is right" is in effect. In other words, one who has a kalashnikov rules the day. Besides this, if we take the employment of the

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people, then the central government, after coming into power, turned itself into a "placement bureau." By means of this institution, it is providing employment to its own people. Party workers who are only "matric pass" are given employment in grade "18" and "19." After sometime, the PPP workers and district office bearers started selling employment, and in some places there were regular auctions for buying employment. This developing country of the poor was looted with both hands. Many people holding first class, first class gold medallist, and masters degrees, and having all the merits and abilities came to me and said that because they did not get whacked for the ruling party but devoted all their time to their studies, the government does not have any jobs for them. Just to please their own party workers, the oppressed and deserving people were ignored. We would like to know how much money was invested in the country during the past year. As long as no practical steps are taken, investments cannot be made just by issuing permits. People do not have confidence in the government any longer. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity in the country, and as such the people are avoiding investing in the country and business is down. If the people do not invest, new industries will not be established. When new industries are not established, there will be no new job opportunities. But the matter does not rest here. Benazir started violating the Constitution soon after coming into power. She dissolved the Baluchistan Assembly and in Punjab where IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] has a clear majority she tried to remove the Chief Minister, Mian Nawaz Sharif, from his post. If the PPP were a democratic party as it claims to be, then it would follow the policy of live and let live. Before taking any such action against Mian Nawaz Sharif, the chief minister of Punjab, she should have remembered that after the 1988 elections she too was allowed to form a government even though she did not have a majority in the National Assembly, and that was unconstitutional. If the decision had been reached according to the law and the Constitution and the speaker had been elected earlier, then Benazir Bhutto would not have been prime minister, because the Mohajir Qaumi Mahaz [Mohajir National Front] and members of FATA [Federally Administered Tribal Areas] reached an agreement with her only after she became the prime minister. Besides this, internal pressure was brought about to bear on the president so much so that many high ranking personalities came to Pakistan from the United States, and they assured the prime minister about certain things and in return got some guarantees, and only then was this government formed. But even at that we acknowledged this unconstitutional government. Despite this, the central government started interfering with provincial autonomy. On 21 April 1989 they formed a forward block in the Punjab Assembly. Despite this fact, we have until today been clamoring for the convening of a meeting of the Council of Joint Interests, which is a constitutional requirement, this meeting has not been called. The people's works programme has been taken over from the provinces. Nineteen ministers under the federal government have

broken all bounds of corruption. The government treasuries were used to fill the cash boxes of the Zardaris. It was in accordance with the wishes of the people that with a view to curb other similar wrongdoings of the PPP, that we put forward a motion of no-confidence against the government, and all this is a part of democratic action. But the nineteen ministers under the government complained that this was not a democratic action. I would like to ask them that when they present a motion of no-confidence against the Punjab government then they are acting within their constitutional rights. But when this same motion is placed against the central government by the opposition, then this becomes an unconstitutional and an undemocratic act. May I ask what kind of democracy this is? If Benazir remains a prime minister then it is democracy, but when someone else becomes the prime minister then it becomes an un-democratic act. Well it is all a matter of difference of opinion. But as far as the last part of your question is concerned, I would like to state that at the time the government had unlimited authority and resources and has them now, of which it has taken undue advantage. The official media, which is engaged in a propaganda campaign against us, has been turned into a center of disinformation. Some of our members are forcibly imprisoned. These are the causes of our failure.

[HURMAT] Is it true that the Qurban 'Ali Shah group had inevitably assured the Combined Opposition group of its support, and the motion of no-confidence was put forward on the basis of this assurance?

[Jatoi] Yes, this is correct.

[HURMAT] Then why did all these people go back to the PPP?

[Jatoi] To tell you the truth, at the last minute we had the support of 124 members of the Assembly. The PPP kept the members it suspected would vote against itself locked up in a room. Against this, we allowed the members of the Assembly who had assured us of their support to roam about freely. But when the members of the Assembly belonging to IJI, Rais Shabbir Ahmed, Maneka, and Makhdoom 'Ali, changed sides and announced their support for the PPP on Television, then even our own people became disheartened and victims of uncertainty. Besides this, when the PPP learned about its own members' support for IJI, they locked them up in the Prime Minister's chambers.

[HURMAT] The COP have decided to present another motion of no-confidence. Will you tell us when this motion will be put forward and what are the chances of its success?

[Jatoi] We have not yet decided about any particular time. It depends on the opportunity. If this irresponsible behavior, violations of the Constitution and law, looting and plundering continue then at some opportune moment we will put forward this motion. Now our position is much better than before, and with the help of God our second round will not fail.

[HURMAT] Are you planning to forward this motion before the 20th of March this year?

[Jatoi] At this moment I cannot say anything on this matter.

[HURMAT] What are the chances of survival of the agreement signed between IJI and MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], because MQM signed a similar agreement with the PPP about one year earlier?

[Jatoi] The agreement IJI signed with MQM is similar to the one it signed with the PPP, the only difference being that the PPP did not fulfill the promises it made to MQM which resulted in the latter breaking off with the PPP. And now false and fabricated lawsuits are being filed against it in Sindh by the PPP. Sometimes they are intimidated and at other times they are offered huge sums of money and yet other times they are reminded of fulfillment of broken promises. But now we hope that the PPP will not succeed in this matter.

[HURMAT] Mr. Jatoi, you too belong to Sindh and so does the Prime Minister of this country. But despite this, everybody is talking about the deprivations of Sindhis. What is the real cause of this deprivation after all?

[Jatoi] You are correct. At present the leader of the opposition as well as the leader of the ruling party both are from Sindh. But my hands are empty. If the Prime Minister wishes she can put an end to the feeling of deprivation in Sindh. These issues have been wrongly explained. Because of the special conditions prevailing in this region, the effects of martial law imposed by Ayub Khan and General Mohammed Ziaul Haq were felt for the longest period of time by the citizens of this land compared with other regions, because of which the real issues remained unaffected and the feeling of deprivation among the people increased day by day. I believe that these are not problems that cannot be compensated. If God gives us the opportunity, then we will once and for all put an end to the sense of deprivation of the Sindhis.

[HURMAT] You said a little while ago that if the prime minister wishes she can improve the conditions in Sindh and put an end to the feeling of deprivation among the people of Sindh. Some sources, too, are giving the impression that Benazir Bhutto is not controlling the condition in Sindh because, by using the Sindh card, she wishes to prolong her rule in such a way that if someone defeats her then the conditions in Sindh will go out of control and she will take advantage of this situation. Do you agree with this?

[Jatoi] It is quite correct that Benazir Bhutto would like to see the conditions deteriorate. This has been proved by time that when MQM was on her side then who else would she want to help her, because the party which enjoys the support of 90 percent of the people and she does not take any political steps to improve the conditions then this itself is sufficient proof that she is not serious. This is something like the sickness worsened

with treatment. In other words, conditions in Sindh worsened since the PPP came into power.

[HURMAT] According to some reports, the government recruited about 5,000 Hindus into the police force, as a result of which the conditions in Sindh instead of improving are deteriorating much more. What is your assessment?

[Jatoi] There is no doubt that the activities of the Hindus in Sindh are causing great concern, perhaps the conditions may be so, but I do not know anything about it.

[HURMAT] Only a few days ago Rana Chandar Singh and Chaudhri Mustafa Bajoh of IJI gave assurance of their support to the prime minister and in a statement to the press said that the leadership of the Combined Opposition Parties would like obstacles in the way of democracy. What is your reaction to this statement?

[Jatoi] We have been fighting for democracy for a long time and will continue to do so. To say the truth, the PPP has been carrying on this mischievous propaganda against us. They say that if we come into power then we will dissolve the assemblies and hold new elections. But we fail to understand how a prime minister can hold elections just two days after forming a government. This is just propaganda. The members of the assembly are being misled and some of them have been misguided. It is quite possible that Mr. Bajoh was deceived into making this statement or that the PPP got this statement from him. Well, Mr. Bajoh had to say something or perhaps he could come closer to them by making such statements.

[HURMAT] Benazir Bhutto has said that Mian Nawaz Sharif is the real source of strength behind IJI.

[Jatoi] When I read this statement in the newspapers I was really delighted to find that at least after one year Benazir Bhutto accepted somebody as leader. Otherwise she was not prepared to talk to Mian Sahib. The truth of the matter is that at this time the Chief minister of the Punjab and I are causing concern to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

[HURMAT] The central government claims that after coming into power it caused work on Dular barrage to be stopped. What do you have to say in this matter?

[Jatoi] This has been proved to be false because, according to Pakistani and Indian sources, work on Dular barrage was stopped as far back as 1987 and at that time the PPP was not in power. I believe that the PPP, by misleading the nation on this matter, has damaged the national interest and integrity, by bringing up this matter they are strengthening India's position for the sake of their personal gains. By opening this chapter, they are trying to prove that India has more right on the waters of the River Jhelum. There cannot be anything more shameful than saying that construction on Dular barrage is not harmful to Pakistan.

[HURMAT] Mustafa Khar and you were working together in the political arena just two years ago. Now Khar has gone back to the PPP and he has started using the same language he used in 1972 and 1973. Do you think that Khar will be successful in his "Punjab mission?"

[Jatoi] I have had connections with Mustafa Khar for the last 26 years. He is my friend and I have a place for him in my heart which always remains. There is no doubt that he must have joined the PPP after taking all the pros and cons into account. He can differentiate between good and evil, and on this matter I wish to make no comment. But as far as the last part of your question is concerned, I believe that he will not succeed in his mission.

[HURMAT] Confrontation between the center and the provinces is increasing every day. Is there any solution to this problem?

[Jatoi] The only solution to this problem is that the center should desist from interfering in the affairs of the provinces, and both should act in accordance with the Constitution and follow the policy of "live and let live," and the confrontation will end by itself within a few days.

[HURMAT] According to government circles, Punjab Bank and television fall under the category of provincial prejudice. What do you have to say on this matter?

[Jatoi] First of all, it is necessary to go into the details to explain why it became necessary to have a separate bank and television station for the Punjab. When for personal gains if the government machinery and the media is used for government propaganda, under these circumstances others too have the right to make arrangements for their own safeguards. Whatever the case may be, the Constitution clearly states that every province is entitled to have its own radio and television station. This is not against the Constitution nor is it an unlawful act, and the government cannot obstruct this action. In Europe, for example, in certain places radio stations are built on private property.

[HURMAT] It is said that the Eighth amendment is hindering the prime minister's authority and should be removed. What do you have to say on this matter?

[Jatoi] There is no doubt that the Eighth amendment balances the authority and I am in favor of abolishing the Eighth amendment. But we are frightened by the change in countenance. We are thankful to God that the Eighth amendment still exists in this country and there is some control; otherwise a one party government would have been established in this country long ago and a very strong fascism would have sprung up. Under the present conditions, the Eighth Amendment is a great blessing and it is because of this amendment that the president and the army chief of staff are keeping an eye on the situation in the country. If the Eighth amendment were

not there, God knows what would have been the condition of this country. But now whenever a new prime minister is appointed, then we can all sit down and have a discussion, but to abolish the Eighth Amendment immediately is not in the best interest of the country.

Administration Called 'Government of Thieves', Inquiry Demanded

*90OI0131A Lahore SIYASI LOG
in Urdu 30 Dec 89 pp 5, 9*

[Editorial]

[Text] While participating in the National Assembly debate on the nation's president's speech to the joint session of the parliament, the leader of the united opposition, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, presented in very clear words and in great detail a list of charges of corruption and bribery concerning Benazir Bhutto's family and members of her government and allegations of receipt of secret commissions by members of the government and the prime minister's family, on big purchases from foreign countries for the country. If in this list, because of compulsions and good sense of legal and parliamentary norms, he only hinted at certain personalities and did not name them, this does not mean that these personalities are not involved in these charges. For instance, Jatoi mentioned the receipt of a 10 percent secret commission on the purchase of Airbus planes for PIAC [Pakistan International Airlines Corporation], but newspapers have published in detail that Begum Nusrat Bhutto received 320 million rupees from this transaction. This disclosure by SIYASI LOG was copied and printed in the country's other newspapers and, despite the passage of over two weeks, the ruling Bhutto family has not had the courage to issue a denial in this regard. This is because it is not possible for them to deny the fact that in the course of the transactions of a committee, under the chairmanship of Air Marshal Hakim Allah, the offer of a 10 percent commission from the makers of the Airbus had come under discussion and it had been decided that, upon receipt, this commission would be deposited in the government exchequer. Later, records of this decision bit by bit disappeared and mention of the receipt of the commission was nowhere to be found, nor was this amount deposited in the government treasury.

This is not the only case of receipt of a commission by the ruling family in purchases made in the name of the nation. Reports of kickbacks from F-16 jet plane transactions, the decision to purchase the American communication satellite, the purchase of a fiber optics system, the transactions involving defense materials, and other cases have been regularly appearing in newspapers. Other forms and cases of corruption and bribery are a different story. The question arises as to how can it be that in all these cases, where the total amount of the commissions exceed many times the amount involved in the scandal of Rajiv Gandhi's purchase of Bofors guns, the national newspapers, political circles, and public opinion spokesmen and analysts are ignoring this case.

When this matter came up in Jatoi's speech in the course of introducing the no-confidence motion, the prime minister angrily retorted that anyone who has any proof to support the allegations of corruption against her family or members of her government should present it to the courts. Benazir Bhutto is fully aware that under the country's laws it is not possible for any person, in a personal capacity, to take cases of this nature to the courts. If there is a way out, it is that statements based on such serious charges should be made. Later on, if the people who have been charged have any proof of their innocence and if their conscience dictates their innocence, they should file defamation suits against their prosecutors. But if within the spate of a year nothing is done, that will indicate that there is surely something fishy.

There is another way of involving the courts in this affair, and this is the one which the leader of the opposition, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, has now adopted. While making clear and specific charges against the prime minister's family and members of her government on the floor of the National Assembly, he has demanded that an inquiry commission, consisting of two Supreme Court judges, should be set up in connection with these allegations. This is a stunning reply to Benazir's challenge. It is clear that if an inquiry commission is set up and the commission conducts a judicial investigation, it will be imperative for those who levied the charges to provide the necessary evidence. In case they are unable to do so, they will face humiliation for having levied false and baseless allegations and the prime minister's innocence will be established to a certain extent. We say "to a certain extent" because people who are outside the government are not in a position to necessarily fulfill the responsibility of providing legal proof concerning official business, office procedures, and secret accords. Even then, they are subject to this responsibility that if they do not have proof, they should refrain from levying allegations.

Two weeks have elapsed since Mustapha Jatoi made a demand for setting up a judicial inquiry commission consisting of two Supreme Court judges, but the prime minister and her government are keeping mum. A criminal silence prevails. This time no one has even issued the ridiculous political statement terming this demand a "conspiracy against the government," just as they have been terming the no-confidence motion a conspiracy against national security and the democratic system. Can it mean anything except this, that the prime minister has no grounds to reject this demand and, this being the case, she is afraid of accepting this demand out of fear that one or all of these charges may not, after all, be proved. This is an extremely serious situation. In his address, the nation's president himself has already referred to the increase in the curse of corruption and bribery. Forget the political and legal aspects, the moral aspect of this case is that if such grave allegations are levied on a government, its head, its family, and members of its government, in that case, its very credibility gets tainted

with doubt and suspicion. In this country, legal arrangements have been made for proceeding against government officials in cases of charges of corruption to this extent that if an individual merely has the reputation of being dishonest, this by itself is enough to warrant action against him, and Zulfiqar 'Ali Bhutto, the father of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, had dismissed and forcibly retired 3,000 government officials on the very basis that they were found to give a general impression of corruption or incompetence. If this is the principle and, it definitely is so, because this has been acted upon many times in the country, then shouldn't a prime minister, whose mother, husband, father-in-law, and other near and dear ones, and members of her government who have been openly accused of taking commissions in government transactions and these charges are regularly and continuously aired in the country's newspapers, be removed from office? If she does not have the moral courage to quit power on these bases, this will also mean a disregard of the international and world tradition that the leader and members of such a government should explain their position in some suitable manner, and that they should adopt some such method of clearing their name and reputation as would satisfy the public.

This was the very object of the demand for an inquiry commission consisting of two Supreme Court judges. If the appointment of the commission is also among the powers of the prime minister and only the prime minister, and she does not want to use this authority to clear her own and her family's name of this criminal charge, in that case, it is for this country's people, public opinion, intelligentsia, which includes journalists, politicians, lawyers, and judges, to ponder what attitude to adopt toward an administration, which has such a criminal mentality and which is so shameless, in order to bring home to it that it should either provide proof of the falsity of the charges levied against it or it should adopt a legal and satisfactory way of establishing the falsehood of those levying these charges. Undoubtedly, there is no chapter, part, or section in the Constitution under which the nation's president, Supreme Court, or chief justice may make a decision and announce the appointment of such a commission. But should it be taken to mean that, in this country, the rule of thieves has been recognized as principled, legal, constitutional, and democratic, and that if somehow a gang, family, or clan of thieves, dishonest and corrupt people, once captures an office or offices there is no way of getting rid of them, and that the 100 million unfortunates of this country will necessarily have to accept the rule of thieves for five years.

This is an extremely important and serious issue, and we are bringing it directly to the notice of Pakistan's president, the members of the National Assembly, the members of the Senate, and the judges of the Supreme Court and, through the agency of the country's politicians, the intelligentsia and the people. The people have the right to an answer, from the nation's president and the Supreme Court judges, to the question of what kind of attitude should be adopted toward a gang of thieves who

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insist that in order to prove the shameful charges of malpractice, corruption, dishonesty, and taking of commissions, a case should be filed against them whereas, according to them, constitutionally, the Supreme Court judges should be appointed in accordance with their wishes. The attorney general should also be their handmaiden, even though he may well be senile, an idiot, and utterly competent for this office. And, under these conditions, who will file charges against them and in whose court.

In principle, it is for Pakistan's president to answer this question. This is because the administration of this country is being carried in his very name through agents and the prime minister and her cabinet, all of whom are appointed by him and he himself is the guardian and the symbol of the nation's integrity, independence, unity,

and Constitution. But since this issue is described as a political issue and since such a demand from the president may be construed as involving the nation's president in politics, therefore, in addition to the nation's president, we address this demand to the Supreme Court and its chief justice and the judges as well because this question is also a legal question that in case serious allegations of malpractice and corruption are levied against the head of the government, his family, and members of his government and if, in this connection, a demand is made for the appointment of an inquiry commission consisting of Supreme Court judges, and the head of the government maintains a criminal silence regarding it, then, in that case, how can the inquiry commission be appointed and, under law, who has or should have the authority to set up this commission?

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